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WILLIAM I. EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

THE  
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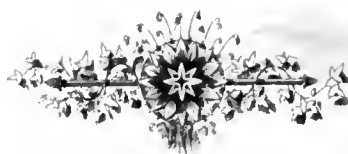
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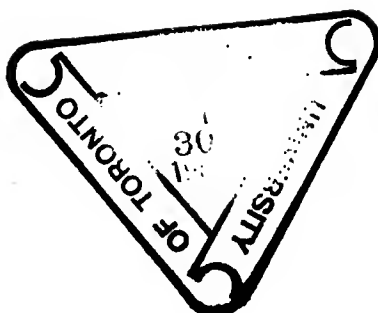


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# THE INTERNATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

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## THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

THE name of the Emperor of Germany is one of the most significant in the nineteenth century. It may be taken to symbolise that unification of the German people and regeneration of the German Empire with which it must always remain inseparably associated. Nothing during the last fifty years has been more remarkable, or is likely to exercise a greater influence upon Europe, than the consolidation under single governments of the two great countries, Italy and Germany. It would be difficult to overrate the importance and the salutariness of the results that may be expected from it, and have even already begun to appear. In older and more barbarous times the aggregation of extensive territories under the hand of a single powerful ruler has not always been a beneficial thing, and even in days more near our own its effect has often been disastrous. But the great distinction must be kept carefully in mind, between that merely territorial dominion which has been effected by the violence of an unscrupulous and ambitious man, and such consolidation as that which Italy and Germany have lately undergone, where a number of petty and ill-governed States have been incorporated into one great whole, to which by speech and race they naturally belong. The consequences of the former have generally been evil, while from the latter we may reasonably look for good. The accomplishment of this result has been chiefly due, in Italy, to Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour; in Germany, to Prince Bismarck and the present Emperor. The history of the Emperor William's life is, therefore, so far as its main interest is concerned, little else than an account of the rise of Prussia from the low condition to which Napoleon had brought her till she has come to be the head of a united Empire.

WILHELM I. (Friedrich Ludvig) is the second son of Frederick William III. of Prussia, and younger brother of the late Frederick William IV. He was born on the 22nd of March, 1797. His early childhood was passed amid the convulsion and alarm occasioned by the ambition of the first Napoleon. No country suffered more than Germany from the disasters of that time, when all her different States were overrun by the French. In 1806 Napoleon brought the old German Empire to a close, by forcing Francis II. of Austria to renounce the Imperial crown, and established the Confederation of the Rhine to take its place. At this date Prince William was not ten years old. He

was educated as a soldier, and entered the army early enough to take part in the desperate struggle which ended in the overthrow of Napoleon at Leipsic. He served again in the campaign which succeeded the escape from Elba, and which was brought to a close by the battle of Waterloo. His early association with the humiliation of his country, which had been ground into insignificance under the power of the French, no doubt worked powerfully upon the young Prince's mind, and may serve in some measure to explain that firm reliance upon the army, and that earnest attention to military affairs which have marked his policy through life. In 1822, the then King of Prussia took Prince William and a younger brother on a tour in Italy, and Baron Bunsen had the honour of conducting them through Rome. A letter of the Baron's has been preserved, in which he speaks of Prince William in terms of praise, as "of a serious and manly character," calculated to inspire sincere devotion and esteem. This favourable judgment was confirmed by further intercourse in later times.

In 1840, on the accession of his brother to the throne, Prince William became heir apparent, and henceforth bore the title of "Prince of Prussia." He was immediately appointed Governor of Pomerania, and had several regiments placed under his command. He sat also in the first Diet convoked in Prussia, and had considerable influence in the direction of political affairs. But, true to his belief that a king's best reliance is on his regiments, he devoted himself especially to the army, and endeavoured by every means in his power to perfect the discipline of the troops entrusted to him. In the summer of 1844 he visited England, where Baron Bunsen became once more his guide.

But events were at this time coming to a crisis on the Continent. A strong popular feeling was growing at Berlin. On coming to the throne, Frederick William IV. had promised to reform the Constitution by making various changes of a liberal nature, and a powerful party in the State was agitating to procure a fulfilment of the promise. This course was very distasteful to the King, who thought to evade the pledges he had given by granting a few unimportant reforms. But he underrated the strength of the popular movement. At last, in 1848, matters came to a head. A revolutionary wave, which began with the fall of Louis Philippe, swept over Europe, and nowhere, out of France itself, was it more felt than in Germany. The King of Prussia had been warned of what was likely to occur, and by no one more distinctly than by our own Prince Consort, who, in an able memorandum, towards the close of 1847, had clearly set the state of things before him. There were, he said, two main objects that public opinion in Germany had in view, viz., the establishment of popular forms of government, and the construction of a united Germany; and he had pointed out the means which, in his view, were best calculated to bring about these changes peaceably. But the King did not act on this advice, and, in his resistance to reform, he seems to have been supported by the Prince of Prussia, who, strongly as he desired the union of Germany, and strenuously as he has worked to bring that union about, has never been inclined towards popular forms of government, but has always relied on military rather than constitutional means to secure the ends he had in view. In March, 1848, the revolutionary movement reached Berlin, after it had already extorted concessions from the rulers of the south-western States. A collision between the populace and the soldiery, occasioned by a great reform meeting, held on the 13th of March, obliged the King of Prussia to give way. On the 18th, in a proclamation, he granted various reforms, hoping by this means to get the lead of a movement he could no longer stem. But on that very day an accidental circumstance provoked a fiercer storm than ever. The people had gathered in crowds before the palace to offer their congratulations to the King, when, by an unlucky chance, two muskets were discharged from the ranks of the soldiers who lined the square. This roused the popular fury. With cries of "Treachery!" the people threw up barricades and rushed to arms. A sanguinary struggle lasted through the

night, and bathed the streets in blood. The military at length obtained the upper hand; but, instead of firmly suppressing the disorder, the King, by half measures and weak concessions, only succeeded in smoothing over difficulties for a time, without arriving at any permanent solution. By his vacillation he alienated the confidence of his subjects, while he roused the jealousy of Austria by offensive proclamations, in which he announced himself as the "leader of the German people—the new King of the free, regenerated German nation."

In consequence of these disorders, the Prince of Prussia, who had acted with the troops against the people, and who was believed to entertain reactionary opinions, was compelled to leave the country. His palace was only saved from destruction by an inscription which declared it to be "National Property." On leaving Berlin he came at once to England, like many other refugees before and since. During the short period of his exile he stayed with his old friend, Baron Bunsen, at whose London house he unexpectedly appeared early on the morning of the 27th of March. He employed himself in a close and careful study of the British Constitution, and, by his noble and manly bearing, his truthful disposition, and his simple, unostentatious manners, won golden opinions from all who came in contact with him—opinions which, through life, his spotless personal character has justified. Before long, however, the way was opened for his return. On the 31st of May he left London for Berlin. Arrived there, he was elected deputy to the Constituent Assembly, convoked to deliberate upon a new Constitution, but it does not appear that he took part in its proceedings. The time was one of great confusion; Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and all the efforts of the King to come to an agreement with the nation were for some time unavailing, owing in great part to his endeavours after untimely compromises. The next appearance of Prince William on the scene of German politics is connected with the insurrection of 1849 in Baden, which he was sent with a Prussian army to suppress. But, in order to the understanding of this action on the part of Prussia, a few words are necessary to explain the position of affairs in Germany.

On the dissolution, in 1815, of the unsubstantial Confederation of the Rhine, established by Napoleon, those States which still preserved a separate existence combined together to form a "German Confederation," and the ancient Diet was revived as its legislative and executive organ. The Diet, however, became itself the chief bar to German unity, owing to its reactionary and dynastic tendencies. It sank to be a tool in the hands of the conservative reigning house of Austria. The revolutionary movement of 1848 obliged the princes to sanction the election of a National Assembly, or general congress of representatives of the German people. This Assembly met in Frankfort, and chose the Archduke John of Austria, as "Vicar of the Empire," to administer the affairs of the nation generally. His authority was unreal, for the choice offended Prussia, with whom the material power lay. Early in 1849 the National Assembly elected the King of Prussia "Hereditary Emperor of the Germans," but this dignity he declined, because offered by the people instead of by the princes. The previous action of the Assembly had deeply mortified him, and cooled his ardour in the cause of the "Fatherland." He became from this time more possessed with Absolutist ideas, and his jealousy of Austria was perceptibly increased. Thus it was that, when the populace arose in Baden and drove the Grand Duke from the land, Prussia interfered to quell the insurrection. The Prince of Prussia was made Commander-in-Chief of the forces despatched for this purpose. He defeated the insurgents under Mierolawski, a Polish refugee, and enabled the Grand Duke to re-enter Carlsruhe on the 18th of August. In October he took up quarters at Coblenz, as military Governor of the Rhine Provinces.

During all this time the differences at Berlin continued. It was not till the beginning of 1850 that the efforts to arrive at some sort of understanding that might become the basis of a

Constitution, were at all successful. At last, however, on the 2nd of February in that year, a new Constitution was published, defining the powers of the King and Parliament, and the duties of the Ministers of the Crown. Although it underwent important modifications between that time and 1857, it formed the basis of the Constitution as now by law established. It provided for a Representative Chamber as well as a House of Peers, and made a distinct advance towards universal suffrage. Meanwhile, the sanguinary manner in which Prussia had suppressed the rising in Baden had put an end to Republican demonstrations throughout Germany, so that, at the Convention of Olmutz, in November, 1850, Austria and Prussia were enabled to come to an arrangement. The National Assembly having fallen to pieces, these two Powers, in spite of mutual jealousy, combined together to restore the Diet, which became thenceforth the arena of their contest for supremacy.

But we must return to Prince William. In 1854 he was appointed Colonel-General of infantry, and Governor of the Federal fortress of Mayence. In 1857 the health of the King broke down, and, the mental disease from which he suffered obliging him to withdraw from State affairs, the reins of government were entrusted to his brother. One year later, on October 7th, 1858, the Prince of Prussia was declared Permanent Regent. This was the year in which, on the 25th of January, the Prince's eldest son, the present Crown Prince of Germany, was married to our Princess Royal. The Regent took up at once a liberal attitude, and dismissed the aristocratic or Manteuffel Ministry, a proceeding which might seem strange, did we not bear in mind that the greatness of Prussia and the union of all Germany under her leadership have always been with him the most important objects, to which mere questions of political party have been invariably subordinated. The new Cabinet showed tendencies more liberal than its predecessors with regard to Prussia itself, and more national with reference to external affairs. At the same time, the Regent continued to bestow attention upon the army, the reorganisation of which he was determined to effect. His announcement, in the beginning of 1860, that the "Prussian army would be in future the Prussian nation in arms," was only a prelude to that radical remodelling of the forces, which was soon to cause a severe and protracted struggle with his Parliament.

On the 2nd of January, 1861, King Frederick William died, and the Prince Regent became, accordingly, King William I. His accession was marked by the publication of an amnesty for political offences, and was welcomed by the Liberals, who now regarded him as favourable to their policy. But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. The proclamation issued when the new King mounted the throne gave early indications of a strict and warlike policy, which he proceeded without delay to develop by his actions. In the autumn he visited the Emperor of the French at Compiègne, and then returned to prepare for his coronation. This took place on the 18th of October, at the little university town of Königsberg. On this occasion his Majesty avowed his Absolutist principles in the clearest and most emphatic manner. The doctrine of "divine right" was asserted in the most uncompromising shape. On the eve of the ceremony he informed a deputation from the Prussian Chambers that the rulers of Prussia received their sovereignty from God alone, and that he intended himself to lift the crown from the altar to his head. This act, he explained, would be the only fitting interpretation of the words, "King by the Grace of God." The true sanctity of a God-given crown he declared to be inviolable. He entered into no obligation to regard the Diet as a Parliament, and said that the part his people had to play was to be faithful, devoted, and self-sacrificing. The substance of this he reiterated on the morrow, when he actually crowned himself in the manner he had indicated. Such action on the part of an ambitious and unprincipled man would have been ominous in the extreme, but with King William the case was different. Earnest and

upright, and with a single mind devoted to the welfare of the Fatherland, he has assumed always a bold, and sometimes a despotic, attitude, but his policy has resulted in the public good.

On returning to his capital, he entered on a course of enormous military reorganisation. He increased the army and developed the navy, and undertook a vast system of coast defences. But all this was not effected at a single stroke. It took several years to accomplish, and entailed a violent struggle with the Lower Chamber, which was vehemently opposed to all these projects. The dispute arose on the question of military expenditure, and the Opposition, which embraced a vast majority of the House, refused to vote the necessary supplies. Early in the session of 1862 the King dissolved the Chambers, and dismissed the Liberal members of the Ministry. A reactionary Cabinet was formed under Van der Heydt, who endeavoured to gain favour by some liberal acts. But, in spite of this, the elections went completely against the Government, only one of the ministers being re-elected. The King refused to open the Parliament in person, and the deputies rejected the ministerial demand of credit for the army. Upon this Van der Heydt resigned, and his place was filled by Bismarck, whom the King had sent as Ambassador to Paris, in order, as it is said, to prepare him for the high position his Majesty foresaw he would be required to fill. This able and determined man was admirably fitted to carry out the task entrusted to him. He did not shrink from the strongest measures, when the continued opposition of the Chamber made these necessary. He informed the deputies that the Budget would be deferred till 1863, and, on their protesting against this course as unconstitutional, and adopting the proposals of the Budget Commission, which the Government had declared impracticable, a vote was procured in the Upper Chamber, annulling the proceedings of the deputies, and the session was closed by a message from the King, which stated that "the Budget for the year 1862, as decreed by the Chamber of Representatives, having been rejected by the Chamber of Peers, on the ground of insufficiency, the Government is under the necessity of controlling the public affairs outside the Constitution." This high-handed act, together with the prosecution of the Progressist journals, and other despotic measures, served only to increase the vehemence of the Opposition, and the country was thereby brought to the verge of civil war. In 1863 things did not mend. New conflicts having occurred, the Chamber addressed a memorial to the King on the subject of their relation to the Ministry, to which his Majesty replied, that his ministers possessed his confidence. The sitting was then adjourned, an attempt being made to do without a Parliament. These extreme measures caused a temporary alienation between the King and the Crown Prince, who disavowed participation in them, and censured the Ministry in a letter to his father. This breach, however, was soon healed.

The rupture with Denmark, which now occurred, served as a welcome diversion from the troubles of home politics. It adjourned the difficulties of the Constitutional question, and enhanced the prestige of the throne by an easy military triumph. Into an account of the famous Slesvig-Holstein controversy, and of the war to which it at this time gave rise, it is unnecessary to enter here. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that, by the peace which was signed with Denmark in October, 1864, the two duchies were surrendered by the Danes; and by the Convention of Gastein, in August, 1865, Holstein was put under the temporary government of Austria, and Slesvig under that of Prussia.

After the close of the war the relations between the Ministry and the Chamber still continued stormy. In June, 1865, the latter was once more prorogued, the Government being again determined, if possible, to rule without it. The King, who was at Carlsbad, issued a despotic decree,



appropriating and disposing of the revenue, and severe measures were taken to suppress all Liberal demonstrations. In 1866 Parliament was again prorogued, after only a few weeks' sitting, during which, however, the Upper House had actively supported Bismarck. It would be idle to conjecture how these difficulties would have been solved, had not the external relations of the country, at this juncture, intervened to cut the knot. A struggle with Austria for the supremacy in Germany had been long preparing, and now broke out. It was, no doubt, greatly with a view to this emergency that the King and his Prime Minister had been so anxious to improve the army. The immediate cause of this fresh war was a continuation of the dispute about Slesvig-Holstein; but, although this question had not arisen, the collision would probably have been inevitable. Into the details of the controversy it would be beyond our scope to enter; we can merely note that the year 1864 was passed in mutual recriminations on the part of the two great Powers, first, in regard to their designs upon the Danish duchies, and afterwards, with reference to the warlike preparations each was making. A Prussian alliance with Italy increased the hostility of Austria. In April, Bismarck moved for a reform in the Constitution of the Germanic Confederation, whose Diet was under the undue influence of Austria, and proposed that a National Parliament should be elected by universal suffrage. This scheme, of course, fell through, and, on the 14th of June, Austria moved that Prussia should be compelled to disarm. Several of the smaller States supported this proposal, and thereby incurred the lasting enmity of Prussia. The latter, through her representative, Bismarck, pronounced the Germanic Confederation to be dissolved, and, on the 18th of June, declared war against Austria. Her troops entered Hanover and Saxony and the other States that had voted for her disarmament, and distributed a circular among the people as they went. This circular announced that the "breach of the Confederation was completed, and the ancient Federal relations had been torn asunder. Nothing remains," it continued, "but the basis of the Confederation, the living unity of the German nation, and it is the duty of the governments of the people to give new expression, instinct with life and power, to that unity." This was a clear expression of the policy of the Prussian King; he was fighting for German unity, under the hegemony of Prussia. The event justified his expectations. Nearly all the northern States joined with her from the outset, and, at the close of the war—which ended with the memorable battle of Sadowa, where King William in person commanded the victorious army—a peace was made which fully gave effect to Prussian views. Hanover and other States, together with the Slesvig-Holstein duchies, were incorporated entire. Saxony was allowed to retain a separate status, but, along with the other States north of the Maine, was united with Prussia in a new "North German Confederation," of a more intimate nature than any previous league. With the Southern States treaties of offensive and defensive alliance were concluded, securing the supreme command to Prussia in case of war. From the whole of this new organisation Austria was quite excluded, and thus the chief bar to union was removed. The new Confederation was put in force from the 1st of July, 1867. It consisted of three estates, viz., the Presidency, which rested with King William; the Federal Council, composed of delegates from all the States; and the Diet, or common Parliament, elected by universal suffrage. Bismarck, now a Count, was appointed Chancellor, and President of the Federal Council.

The efforts of the next year or two were devoted to strengthening and extending the union thus effected. On June 25th, 1868, the King inaugurated the Luther monument at Worms, under circumstances which gave to the ceremony the aspect of a national festival,



and, in 1869, he opened the first German military port in Oldenburg. By such measures as these an approach was made to the unification of Germany, but another desperate struggle was required before it could be made complete. The Austrian war had sufficed to restore internal harmony to Prussia, and to place her at the head of an extensive German league. The Franco-Prussian war, which now ensued, made the fusion perfect, and raised the Prussian monarch to an Imperial throne. France had for some time looked with jealousy upon events across the Rhine, and a dispute with Prussia in regard to Luxemburg had increased her animosity. When Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern became a candidate for the Spanish throne, her hostility appeared in an emphatic form. She professed to dread a revival of the Empire of Charles V., and demanded a withdrawal of the Prince's candidature. With the Prussian King's consent Prince Leopold renounced his claim; but this was not sufficient for the French, who demanded guarantees against the future. These King William refused to give, and the Emperor Napoleon thereupon declared war upon Prussia (July 15th, 1870). The declaration was answered by a proclamation from King William, who announced that "the love of the common Fatherland and the unanimous uprising of the German races had conciliated all opinions, and dissipated all disagreements." . . . "The war," he went on to say, "will procure for Germany a durable peace, and from this bloody seed will arise a harvest blessed by God, the liberty and unity of Germany." The words are memorable for their prediction, which was destined to so ample a fulfilment. The French Government endeavoured to separate the South German States from their alliance with King William, but the attempt was vain; for they all from the first joined heartily on the Prussian side, and, by November of that year, formally entered the North German Confederation. The events of the war are too well known to call for notice; suffice it to say, that the King, though by this time an old man of over seventy-three, went gallantly through the whole campaign, and commanded in person at the important victory of Gravelotte. When the German army was besieging Paris, after the surrender of Napoleon at Sedan, the King of Bavaria proposed in a letter that King William should be invited to assume the dignity of Emperor of Germany. All the German States now belonged to the Confederation, and it would be but fitting that the King by whom this union had been brought about should revive, in his own person, the old Imperial title. The Prussian Chambers seconded the proposal, and sent a deputation to Versailles to urge the step upon him. To this deputation his Majesty replied, that the matter did not rest with him. "It is only," he said, "in the unanimous voice of the German princes and free cities, and the corresponding wish of the German nation, that I can recognise a call of Providence that I can obey." This unanimity was speedily obtained, and, on the 1st of January, 1871, surrounded by the German princes and representatives from the regiments, in the "Hall of Mirrors" of the palace at Versailles, King William was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, and by this act completed that union of the German States, to the attainment of which the policy of his whole life had been devoted.

Since then the efforts of the Emperor have been directed to promote internal harmony and progress, and the tenor of his life has been broken by few events of striking interest. The enthusiastic devotion with which he is everywhere regarded is a sufficient justification of the policy he has pursued. In September, 1872, a friendly meeting of the three Emperors took place at Berlin, and in the following year the Emperor William returned the courtesy by visits to St. Petersburg and Vienna. In October of the same year he gave a decision adverse to this country in the San Juan boundary dispute, which the governments of England and America had referred to him for arbitration.

In 1873, in consequence of the declaration of Papal infallibility, and the measures adopted by the German Parliament to coerce the ecclesiastics who would not submit to State control, difficulties arose between Germany and the Vatican. The Pope wrote a letter to the German Emperor complaining of the ecclesiastical prosecutions, and asserting his authority over all baptised persons. The Emperor sent a firm, but courteous reply, justifying the measures of his Government, and denying the right of any save Jesus Christ to mediate between God and man. The letter was in effect a declaration that Germany would not tolerate ecclesiastical supremacy. In the following January the late Earl Russell wrote to the Emperor, expressing sympathy with the struggle against the Pope, and received from that sovereign a gracious reply.

In 1875, the Emperor was present with all his family, when a colossal statue of Arminius, the deliverer of the ancient Germans from the Roman arms, was unveiled before 40,000 spectators, on a hill-top near the scene of his heroic exploits. The statue was erected with a symbolical reference to the national unity, and one of the inscriptions upon it compares the Emperor William to the ancient hero.\* In October of the same year, King Victor Emmanuel entertained the Emperor at Milan. There is something remarkable in the meeting of these two illustrious monarchs, the efforts of whose lives had been so similar in aim and in success. Other noteworthy occurrences are the celebration, on the 1st of January, 1877, of the seventieth anniversary of the Emperor's entering the Prussian army, and, on the 22nd of March, of his eightieth birthday. On the former occasion a reception of officers took place, to whom, in reply to a flattering speech from the Crown Prince, the Emperor declared it was chiefly through the army that Prussia had become what she was; and on the latter, he was presented by the German sovereigns with a painting representing the ceremony at Versailles.

In the year 1878 two dastardly attempts were made on the Emperor's life, while he was driving in an open carriage in Berlin: first, on the 11th of May, by a tinsmith of the name of Hoedel, and again, on the 2nd of June, by a certain Dr. Nobiling, who fired from an upper window of his house. In the former case the Emperor was unhurt; in the latter, he was seriously wounded: happily, however, he has since recovered. As a result of the second attempt, and the illness it occasioned, the Crown Prince was empowered, by an Imperial decree, to act for the Emperor in all State affairs. Hoedel, after trial, was condemned and executed. The Emperor's life had been attempted once before, by a Leipsic student, in 1861, at a time when there was a strong political feeling against him. These last attempts have been ascribed to Socialistic influences, and have given rise to stringent measures against the Social democrats. With the nation at large they have but helped to increase the popularity of their sovereign, even in places such as Hanover, where, only a few years ago, his very name was hated.

The Emperor was married, in 1829, to the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Weimar, who has proved a worthy helpmate to him throughout his long and arduous career. He has two children—the Crown Prince, and a daughter, who is the wife of the Grand Duke of Baden.

\* "Armin dem Retter ist er gleich:" *He is like Hermann the Saviour.*

[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph published by Messrs. Loescher & Petsch, Berlin, and J. Gerson, 5, Rathbone Place, London, W.]





(From a photograph by Messrs. Blumenthal, Parry & Co. Paris.)

ALFRED PETTER & CO. PHOTOGRAPHERS, LONDON.

M. LÉON GAMBETTA.

and  
all



## LÉON MICHEL GAMBETTA.

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NO nation of Europe receives aliens with such open arms as France, and, in return, no nation has been so handsomely rewarded by the devotion and eminent service of aliens and their descendants. Irish, Scottish, Polish, German, and Swiss names thickly stud the pages of her picturesque annals; but Italians, from contiguity, similarity of temperament, and affinity of language, naturally contribute more than others to the glory of the land of their adoption. Indeed, in the southern provinces the two peoples "meet, mingle, and unite," and it is only when a man arrives at an eminence sufficient to interest the world in his ancestry that the distinction is noted. To such eminence no French citizen of the day has a better claim than the subject of this brief sketch, Léon Michel Gambetta.

Young Léon first saw the light at Cahors, in the Department of the Lot, on the 2nd of April, 1838. His parents were of Genoese extraction, occupying what in this country would be termed a middle-class position in life, the elder Gambetta being a bustling oil merchant in his little town. A man of good sense and more than average intelligence, he imparted to his boy what was better than wealth—a sound education, a dauntless spirit, and habits of energy and matchless resource. His youth may be safely assumed to have been blamelessly spent, for all the vials of Bonapartist and Clerical wrath have at one time or other been poured on his head; and a character that can emerge unscathed from such an ordeal is entitled to be regarded as sheathed in the very steel of virtue. Paul de Cassagnac and Louis Veuillot are not opponents that stick at trifles when defamation of a political adversary will serve their ends. The sum total of their efforts to distort the great Republican's reputation has merely been to create a sort of "Gambettist legend." Nor is this altogether to be wondered at. There is much in the career of the ex-Dictator of Tours well calculated to impress the imagination. A great nation, which claims to be—and not without some show of reason—the home of civilisation and refinement, lies prostrate before an invader, who has struck her down as with the hammer of Thor. Her stoutest-hearted sons are stunned, distracted, hopeless. The calamity seems irreparable. Even honour has been lost. Historic France is in the agonies of impending dissolution. Suddenly a young man, who has never been in office, whose fame is chiefly Parisian, and resting on the sandy foundation of half a dozen "irreconcilable" speeches—the "*fou furieux*" of M. Thiers—descends from the clouds in a balloon, and, like another *Grand Monarque*, tells France: "*L'état c'est moi!*" More astonishing still, everybody obeys him. He raises armies as if by magic, and money as if he had the Cap of Fortunatus or had discovered the Philosopher's Stone. Like the first Napoleon, he makes generals "out of mud;" even wins battles; and though he cannot achieve the impossible, he saves the honour of France, rehabilitating her in self-respect and in the sympathy of other peoples. One thing, at all events, he makes irresistibly clear, viz., that

the era of great individualities is not yet past. The age of Agamemnon has no monopoly of heroes. It was only after the Dictator had ceased to be Dictator, and resumed his place as a private in the democratic ranks, that people began to ask seriously, "Who *is* this Gambetta? Whence? Who his parents?" The wits of Paris said he was his own father, and provincial clericals were half disposed to believe it. Blind of an eye, the ex-Dictator was, rightly or wrongly, declared to be the author of his own blindness. The story of his one-eyed state is thus told, and, true or false, is admirably illustrative of his iron will and innate detestation of despotic authority:—When a lad, his father sent him to a boarding-school, taught by Jesuit Fathers. The discipline was not to young Léon's mind, nor the doctrines. Accordingly he wrote to Gambetta *père*, begging that he might be removed to some less obscurantist and more congenial seminary. The father took no notice of his complaint, thinking that time would reconcile the youth to the ways of the establishment. Thereupon Léon wrote again, intimating that if he were not withdrawn from the priestly tuition by a given day he should put out the light of one of his eyes. Still the parent was inexorable. Presently, however, a letter from the principal of the school arrived, conveying the shocking intelligence that Léon, as good as his word, had wilfully and irremediably injured one of his eyes, and that he had threatened to deal with the other in a similar manner at an early date. Needless to say, the father had Léon at once removed to more agreeable educational quarters.

Unlike the great Republicans of France, living and dead, Gambetta, though a substantial scholar and a well-informed man, is not eminent as a man of letters. He is not a great poet, like Hugo; an historian, like Michelet; a philosopher, like Simon; a publicist, like Laboulaye; or an economist, like Say. In a word, he is not a bookish man: the process of ratiocination being too slow for his ardent mind, lightning-like apprehension, and strong bias towards the strictly practical. He prefers conversation to reading, speaking to writing. Nevertheless, as a rough and ready journalist he has few rivals. His organ, the *République Française*, is a model of forcible but withal discreet writing and successful management. It is to the capital of France what the *New York Tribune* was, under Horace Greely, to New England in the most critical days of the Secession struggle.

But if M. Gambetta is not, and probably never will be, a great literary artist, he has almost no superior as a public speaker. He is one of the few men living of any nation who may be said to speak *urbi et orbi*. It is in the tribune where the true genius of the man shines forth in all its splendour. If "poets are born, not made," so likewise are great orators. The English people have a just suspicion of mere glibness of speech, and in the present day Mr. Carlyle has inculcated the obligation of "silence" in more than a dozen volumes. The power and value of real eloquence are consequently greatly underrated in England. But it is obvious that a speech may be good or it may be bad, as a book may be good or bad. It is none the less unreasonable to pen works in advocacy of silence than to speak *ore rotundo* in favour of silence. The *facultas loquendi* and the *facultas scribendi* are so closely allied as means of influencing opinion, of moulding the destinies of individuals and nations, that the advent of a true orator or writer ought ever to be regarded as an occasion for rejoicing and hope. M. Gambetta is an almost unique instance in modern times of what may be effected by the unaided power of the tongue. He had neither birth, wealth, nor literary eminence to recommend him to the attention of his countrymen, but he could say the word which France was waiting to hear, and he said it. He seized the right opportunity for declaring that Louis Napoleon like a footpad had waylaid France on the Second of December, and left her senseless. The conscience of the country responded "That is so!" and from that hour the



fate of the Second Empire was sealed. This was in December, 1868, and in less than two years' time the Man of December had "fallen like Lucifer" from his high estate, "never to hope again," and Léon Gambetta, the unknown, briefless, well-nigh penniless barrister, was virtually ruling in his stead.

On leaving school, M. Gambetta had betaken himself to the study of law, and in 1859, in his twenty-first year, he was duly called to the Paris Bar. A careful training in English law has a marked tendency to produce a conservative habit of thought in the student. The traditions of the English Bar are likewise in favour of conservatism; but it is different with French jurisprudence and jurisprudents. Drawing so much more directly from the law of ancient Rome, with its doctrines of natural right and human equality, the French *avocat* becomes a Radical almost as unconsciously as an English barrister becomes a Conservative or a Whig. Robespierre was a lawyer, and scores of other Revolutionists of the deepest dye have been members of the Paris Bar. There is nothing, however, in the turn of M. Gambetta's mind to show that he has at any time been much under the influence of speculative opinions, whether derived from the law of Rome or elsewhere. He has always had a keen eye for the main party chance. His Republic is "the possible Republic," stigmatised by the Ultras as the commonwealth of "Opportunism." There is nothing in his speeches which betrays the legal habit of thought, and clients probably showed their wisdom in putting their every-day causes into safer hands. At twenty-eight he was still briefless, but confident of his own powers as any "man of the pavement" could be. He frequented the *Café Procope* in those days, and was "Hail, fellow—well met!" with the motley crew of thirsty Bohemians who were wont to take their ease in that historic rendezvous of political martyrs and social pariahs. They believed in him, and were the first to recognise his talents. "Everything," it has been said, "comes to him that waits;" and M. Gambetta found it so. Political prosecutions began to fall thick and fast among the known friends of liberty, and with one consent M. Gambetta was selected as counsel for the defence wherever the Government was certain to press for a conviction. A great demonstration of Republicans had taken place at the cemetery of Montmartre in honour of the memory of Charles Baudin, a youthful deputy, who perished on the 3rd of December, 1851, on a barricade in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, while gallantly leading a forlorn hope against the authors of the *coup d'état*. The aged apostle of freedom, Delescluze, editor of the *Réveil*, was, almost as a matter of course, among the number of those implicated in the insurrectionary manifestations at Montmartre, and M. Gambetta was retained as his counsel. "The hour had come, and the man!" He forgot his client, but he overwhelmed the Empire with an irresistible torrent of invective. Addressing himself to the Bench, as charged with the duty of making justice respected, he asked:—"Could one ever break the law and treat as criminals those who, like Baudin, defended it?" Raising his tone, he continued: "The Act of the Second of December shook the public conscience; it was then that there ranged themselves round a pretender men devoid of honour, of talents, men steeped in debt and crime, men who are in every epoch the accomplices of tyranny. . . . Of whom one might repeat what Cæsar himself said of those who conspired with him, 'Eternal enemies of regular society!'" Then, after speaking of Paris as quiet and submissive only when assassinated, he continued:—"Ecoutez, voilà dix-sept ans que vous êtes les maîtres absolus discrétionnaires de la France—the term is your own. Well, you have never dared to say we celebrate as a national anniversary the Second of December. If you did so, the universal conscience would scout it." Bench, bar, and audience were spell-bound. The judge lost his head, and failed to do his duty by the corrupt power for which he virtually held a brief. The daring advocate proceeded without interruption

to the end of his scathing impeachment of the Government; and when at last he sat down, exhausted and dishevelled, it was felt by all that a new and incalculable force had been introduced into the politics of France. Here manifestly was incarnated *the* opposition to the Empire. Next morning the orator of the *Café Procope* was no longer unknown to fame. Destiny had clearly marked him out for a statesman of mark. "I told you so!" was on every Bohemian lip.

It may be well, at this point, to say something of the style and quality of M. Gambetta's oratory, to which he and his country owe so much. He is anything but a finished speaker, in the sense in which Demosthenes was an orator, Cicero an orator, or, to come nearer home, Burke was, and Bright is, an illustrious exemplar of that mellifluent art which conceals itself so exquisitely in all he utters. His periods are often rugged, but the thought is always masculine and perspicuous. He is said never even to commit a peroration to writing, but having first saturated his memory with the facts and ideas of his subject, to trust to the inspiration of the moment for the "winged words" which never fail to entrance his audience inside or outside the Chamber. In the British House of Commons, where a conversational style of public speaking is encouraged, M. Gambetta would probably find himself shorn of half his strength: though of living French statesmen his habit of thought is most English. He would often be accused of the Shakespearian offence of "tearing a passion to tatters." In the tribune he roars and stamps and flagellates with such tempestuous violence that it has been said of him that a deaf man must needs conclude that he is a dangerous Bedlamite at large. By M. Thiers, who lived to revise his hasty judgment, he was, as we have already said, at one stage in his career pronounced a "*fou furieux*;" but friend and foe have at last come to acknowledge that there is a very perceptible "method in his madness." Frank, sincere, patriotic, and unspoiled by adversity or prosperity, he is to his countrymen the very incarnation of the Republican idea which the most illustrious Frenchmen have latterly come to regard as the true saviour of a society torn by dynastic feuds and distracted by revolutionary passions. The headlong torrent of M. Gambetta's eloquence rushes along the channel of public safety and advantage; and to this it is owing, rather than to any more occult cause, that it has swept before it the imposing but rotten fabric of the Second Empire, and the hardly less menacing clerical marshalate which sought to establish itself on the ruins. When Robespierre made his first appearance in the Assembly he was generally derided; but Mirabeau, more discerning, observed, "That man will go a long way—he believes every word he says." The Republican of the dawn and the Republican of the eve have almost nothing in common but the strength of their convictions; but both have "gone a long way."

*Quum nocens absolvitur, judex damnatur.* In the Small Court of Correctional Police M. Gambetta, in defending the *Réveil*, had impeached the Emperor. Needless to say, the judge convicted the editor and acquitted his imperial master. But the ball of freedom had been set rolling, and day by day it increased in volume. On the 23rd of May, 1869, the general elections of deputies commenced. All France, as well as Paris, was stirred with the quickening breath of a new life. The people had for some time displayed great restlessness, and the Democratic Opposition had never appeared so energetic and hopeful. On the second day the returns of Bancel, Gambetta, Picard, and Jules Simon were announced amid the acclamations of immense multitudes that thronged the streets and the boulevards. Several of the Republican candidates were also elected for the provinces. Gambetta was elected for Marseilles, and chose it in preference to Paris. In his election address he had declared that he would accept no mandate but "*le mandat d'une opposition irréconciliable*," and from the moment he entered the Chamber he was as good as his word. In 1870 the Emperor, floundering on towards ruin, tried the experiment of a "Liberal

Empire," with the renegade Republican Ollivier at its head. "We accept you and your constitutionalism," thundered Gambetta at the astonished Minister, "as a bridge to the Republic, but nothing more!" In the debate on the proposal of the Minister to proceed against M. Henri Rochefort, then one of the deputies for Paris, for an alleged treasonable article in the *Marsillaise*, he again warned the Imperialists that their day of grace was drawing to a close, and that the Republic would shortly be the lawful government of the country, established by the will of the people without force of arms. Neither he nor any one of his party divined that the Emperor would have recourse to the criminal expedient of a desperate foreign war in order to re-establish the shattered domestic credit of the dynasty.

The plot, however, thickened rapidly. On the 7th of February, 1870, he had protested against the arrest of Rochefort. In the following April came the notorious plebiscite, the prelude to the Franco-German war and the "terrible year." On that occasion he essayed the impossible task of convincing a Chamber profoundly reactionary and anti-Republican that the Republic is preferable to every other form of government, and that in the perils on which the dynasty was rushing the adoption of a Republic could alone save the State from imminent ruin. He spoke for three hours, and though he, of course, failed to convince the Chamber, he entranced the members by the fervour of his eloquence, the vigour of his logic, and the breadth of his reasoning. His own party were delighted.

"All Rome sent forth a rapturous cry,  
And even the ranks of Tuscany  
Could scarce forbear a cheer."

He signed the manifesto of the Left, calling on the electors to vote "*Non*" to the plebiscite, and opposed to the last, almost single-handed, the mad declaration of war with Germany. On the first rumours of military disaster, M. Gambetta sternly tore off the lying disguises with which the Government sought to conceal from the people the terrible truth. On the 14th of August he rose and read from *L'Espérance de Nancy*: "Yesterday (Friday, 12th August), at three in the afternoon—date mournful for us and our children—four Prussian soldiers took possession of the city of Nancy, the ancient capital of Lorraine, and chief town in the Department of the Meurthe." The extract produced a profound sensation, first of sheer stupefaction, then indignation and rage against the "Incapables," as M. Gambetta called them, who had left the country naked to the enemy.

When, on the 4th of September, the catastrophe of Sedan became known, motions—introduced in the Chamber by Jules Favre and M. Thiers—for constituting "a Commission of Government and of National Defence" were voted urgent. While the members retired to deliberate on the appointment of the Commission, a surging crowd of citizens, National Guards, and fraternising soldiers collected, and on the resumption of the sitting received the Deputies with deafening cries of "*Vive La République! La Déchéance! La Déchéance!*" A scene of intense excitement followed. M. Schneider, pale and greatly agitated, was standing in front of the presidential chair; M. Cremieux, in the tribune, was vainly struggling to make his voice audible through the din and uproar of a thousand voices shouting "*La Déchéance! Vive La République!*" M. Gambetta mounted beside Cremieux, and besought the people to respect the deliberations of the Chamber. M. Schneider joined in his importunities, and in doing so lauded the great Republican as "one of the most patriotic men of the country." Here the President's voice was drowned in the clamour, and, taking up his hat, he suspended the sitting till three in the afternoon. When the

Chamber resumed, the disorder inside and out was greater than ever, and M. Schneider again vacated the presidential chair, to resume it no more. On his departure the tribune was cleared for M. Gambetta, who ascended, and, in a firm voice, read as follows:—"Whereas the country is in danger, and time enough has been given to the representatives of the people to decree the deposition of the dynasty; and whereas we are and constitute the regular authority, the issue of universal suffrage, we hereby declare that Louis Napoleon and his dynasty have for ever ceased to reign over France!" The announcement was received with vociferous cheering and the roll of drums. At five in the afternoon the downfall of the Empire was a fully accomplished fact, when M. Gambetta proclaimed from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville the formation of a Government of National Defence, consisting of all the Paris Deputies. In this Government M. Gambetta was Minister of the Interior.

On the 7th of October he was appointed one of the delegates of the Provisional Government at Tours, and quitted Paris in a balloon for the scene of his ever-memorable labours. Touching ground near Montdidier, in the Department of the Somme, he found provincial France stupefied and helpless—the sheep without a shepherd. Without a moment's hesitation he took on himself the supreme direction of affairs, uniting in his own person the Ministries of War, of Finance, and of the Interior. For four months he was Dictator of all France outside the fortifications of Paris. "Fight to-day, discuss to-morrow," was the governing principle of his policy. Instinctively men of all parties recognised that if the country was to be rescued from the grasp of the invader, M. Gambetta must be obeyed, and right loyally was he served. His patriotic proclamations vibrated in every heart. His strong faith, magical voice, and dauntless courage aroused the people to the most heroic efforts, and for a brief space it seemed not improbable that the tide of invasion would be rolled back.

"Fling forth thy banner, let thy lark  
Soar, singing still above thy dark  
Ensanguined fields: the hour is nigh,  
Beloved France, thou shalt not die!"

With the unaccountable fall of Metz, however, followed by the capitulation of Paris, the whole complexion of affairs was changed. His besieged colleagues concluded an armistice with the enemy, and he was obliged to submit. All previous attempts to treat with the Germans he had characterised as "culpable and frivolous;" and even when Jules Simon arrived to announce the cessation of hostilities he stoutly protested in favour of a "war à outrance, and resistance to the point of complete exhaustion." He subsequently retired from the Government of National Defence, and at the close of the war was elected deputy for six departments. The first work of the Assembly was to ratify the treaty of peace, by which Alsace-Lorraine became German soil. M. Gambetta protested vehemently but unavailingly, and then for a short time retired to Spain, to recruit his exhausted energies, having compressed into a few brief months of herculean effort the work of many lives.

With phenomenal suddenness he had bounded from complete obscurity into the first rank of French statesmen. Except Thiers, the country possessed no politician of greater eminence. Could he sustain the weight of such a character? Could the Bohemian of the *Café Procope* exhibit the habitual restraint and caution requisite in a great party leader? The best seaman in a hurricane is not always the best in calmer weather. Very soon his discretion was put to a severe test. In the reactionary assembly, in which he again took his seat in July, 1871, the whole vials of Bonapartist rage and clerical hate were poured out on his head. Every enemy

of progress, every foe to the Republic, felt that the ex-Dictator of Tours was the great obstacle to the realisation of his schemes. Every act of his public life was distorted and vilified. Almost as poor as when he was yet a briefless *avocat*, he was accused of boundless corruption and innumerable peculations. Men who had overwhelmed the country with unheard-of disasters stigmatised him as unpatriotic and a self-seeker. He evinced his patriotism by silence. An infuriated Bonapartist even struck him publicly in the face, but he took little notice of the insult, treating all personal attacks as of small account while the country remained in peril. The acknowledged leader of the convinced Republicans, he recognised the great difficulties of M. Thiers' position as head of the State, and on all but rare occasions accorded him loyal support. The two strong men soon came to understand each other, and to interpret aright each other's conduct. From the enforced resignation of M. Thiers down to the death of that eminent statesman on the eve of the memorable electoral struggle in October, 1877, the two were the joint pillars on which leaned the fabric of liberty, daily threatened with destruction by "governments of combat" and of "moral order." The greatest effort of the reactionaries commenced with the sudden and insulting dismissal by Marshal Maemahon of the Simon Ministry in May, 1877. The Bonapartists, Orleanists, and Legitimists had all contrived temporarily to sink their differences for the purpose of overthrowing the Republic. The Chamber was dissolved, and all the worst features of official candidatures revived and intensified fivefold. The Marshal-President undertook to "answer for order," and many believed that another *coup d'état* was at hand. In this desperate constitutional crisis M. Gambetta renewed the prodigies of activity which he had displayed at Tours. He was the soul of the Central Electoral Committee, which counterworked and countermined the nefarious coercive measures everywhere practised by the Government. At the dissolution the Republicans in the Chamber were 363 strong out of a total of 553. "Send back the 363," was the sagacious advice tendered by Gambetta to the Republican party, and in spite of soldier, priest, and prefect, the people responded to his call by returning an immense Republican majority, which compelled the Marshal to dismiss his evil advisers, and replace them by tried friends of liberty and the Republic. Before the election M. Gambetta, in his address to his constituents at Belleville, had warned the Marshal that he had transformed himself into a plebiscitary candidate, and that the alternatives before him were to "submit or resign." The minions of "moral order" professed to regard this terse definition of the situation as treasonable, and steps were actually taken to convict its author. Needless to say, the prosecution was dropped very unceremoniously as soon as the results of the October elections were known. As President of the Budget Commissions of 1877 and 1878, M. Gambetta has displayed special talents of a very high order, and delighted his colleagues by his unfailing tact and good humour. He has contributed much to the smooth working of the Exhibition, in which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has taken so deep an interest. The arch-republican and the Prince met at a *déjeuner* given by the latter, and exchanged courtesies and ideas. His Royal Highness's opinion of his guest is on record—*Homme vraiment supérieur*.

If the future of this remarkable man is to be foretold from his past it may be unhesitatingly predicted that the highest dignities which the State can bestow are destined ultimately to fall to his lot. Already, as leader of the Parliamentary majority, he possesses the substance, if not the trappings, of power. He is beyond question the man of the situation, the French Statesman who of all others best comprehends the true character of the chronic revolutionary malady from which his country has so long suffered. It is his ambition—it is the aspiration of France—to close this long national agony by the definitive establishment of a Government reconciling and resting on the never-to-be-divorced principles of Liberty and Order.

M. Gambetta is indispensable to the future of France, because he has been the first to build a bridge between town and country, artisan and peasant, *ouvrier* and *bourgeois*. The late M. Thiers, with all his remarkable ability, never got beyond the prejudices and largely unfounded fears of the *bourgeoisie*. He knew no specific for the treatment of Socialistic workmen but to "shoot them down if they descended into the street, and hunt them in their lair if they did not." M. Gambetta's method has been very different. "Let us reason together!" has been his invariable and wise counsel. And with what result? That class feuds have lost their significance to an extent that is surprising alike to the friends and foes of popular government. To the workman M. Gambetta has said: "I agree with you that there is a social problem, or rather a series of social problems, which the Legislature ought to solve, but no solution can ever be obtained by the mad process advocated by you, of razing society to its foundations." To the employer of labour and the middle class generally he has affirmed: "You must not go on any longer denying that there *is* a social question—a question which your very denial tends to convert into a 'social peril.' If you wish to preserve and strengthen society, deal with each grievance of which the *proletariate* complain, successively and in detail, in a frank, rational, and liberal spirit, and you will soon hear the last of Socialism, and come to laugh at your former fears." It is this element of conciliation and common sense which is of supreme value in all M. Gambetta utters; it is this which makes his speeches great public events. MM. Victor Hugo and Louis Blanc can both turn finer periods, are both in the speculative domain transcendently great, but M. Gambetta is, above all, the orator of affairs. The multitude is not speculative; and he alone can speak to the multitude with the authority of a master.

The portrait accompanying this memoir conveys a correct impression of the lineaments of the Ex-Dictator of Tours. He is a man of middle size, ample chest, and solid gesture. The face is pale and somewhat flabby, but under the influence of strong emotion it is a ready and expressive mirror of his mind. The brow is full of power, and indicative of resolution.

[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Messrs. Etienne Carjat & Co., Paris.]







CASSELL, PETER & GALPIN

ALEXANDER II. CZAR OF RUSSIA



## The Czar

**F**EW positions are so such grave responsibilities as that of the Czar's position. He is the head of a vast empire, with diversities, both of race and power, and the task is greater. His duties are but ill surmounted by races, thinly scattered by education or any other means to an extreme degree. All the Roman emperors of The Church, the great The temptations of great to be successful rulers, the records of Tyranny, licentiousness, gloomy horror that assuredly no case

Alexander the

to the calendar which then occupied the and sincerely and, in spite of place in history the cause of a growing tendency to he fled, and left he had feared and a

A number of his subjects in front of the bay in his whole career military administration

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## THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

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**F**EW positions of great power and trust are beset with so much difficulty or burdened with such grave responsibility as that of the "Autocrat of all the Russias." To be ruler of over eighty million human beings of itself involves a very weighty charge; but the peculiar features of the Czar's position, the history and geographical extent of his empire, the strongly-marked diversities, both of race and rank, among its inhabitants, the autocratic nature of the sovereign power, and the traditions of the Imperial house—all these combine to make the burden greater. His dominions are enormous, with the natural barriers to internal communication but ill surmounted by artificial means; while the population is composed of many diverse races, thinly scattered over the surface of the country, and comparatively little drawn together by education or any common interest, social or political. The government is absolute to an extreme degree. All power, both legislative and executive, is vested in the Czar, who, like the Roman emperors of old, unites in himself the headship of all departments of the State. The Church, the army, and the judicial system are under his direct and absolute control. The temptations of such a position, as Russian history but too plainly shows, are almost too great to be successfully resisted. Though the empire has had one or two great and patriotic rulers, the records of the Imperial house are deeply stained with vice and crime. Tyranny, licentiousness, and murder invest the history of the Czars with the same kind of gloomy horror that we are accustomed to associate with the annals of the Cæsars. It is assuredly no easy or enviable lot to belong to such a family and to inherit such a sway.

Alexander Nicolaivich, who rules under the title of ALEXANDER II., was born, according to the calendar of Western Europe, on the 29th of April, 1818. His uncle, Alexander I., who then occupied the throne, was a wavering and sentimental monarch, but benevolent in disposition, and sincerely anxious for his people's good. He took an active part in the Napoleonic wars, and, in spite of more than one complete reversal of his policy, brought Russia to a foremost place in Europe. At home he favoured many great reforms, and exerted himself especially in the cause of education. But towards the close of his career he yielded to his dread of the growing tendency to revolution, and adopted a rigid policy of inquisitorial repression. In 1825 he died, and left his brother Nicolas, the father of the present Czar, to brave the outbreak he had feared. Nicolas was a man of a very different stamp. His education was narrow and defective, but he possessed extraordinary energy and strength of will. It was his determined and decisive action that crushed the armed conspiracy which greeted his accession. A number of his regiments refused to swear allegiance, but, after a desperate and bloody conflict in front of the Imperial palace, the revolt was broken for the time. This rebellion influenced his whole career. His rule was a rigid despotism, in which everything was based on military discipline. Vigorous, uncompromising, and determined, he was resolved to stamp out

by sheer despotic power all liberal and humanitarian tendencies as symptoms of incipient revolt; and this he did, sincerely believing it to be, in all respects, the best system of government. The belief was characteristic of his forcible but half-barbarous nature. The same ideas governed his treatment of his young son Alexander. The boy had at first been brought up under the care of his mother, Alexandra Feodorovna, a sister of the present Emperor of Germany, and instructed by men of culture and literary acquirement. But on the accession of his father, the young prince's education underwent a change. The conspiracy of 1825 induced Nicolas to undertake in person the training of his son, in order that he might make him such another as himself. Military men were placed over him as governors and tutors. He was dressed in uniform and drilled like a recruit, and rapidly advanced in rank. At the age of sixteen years he was made a major, and before very long he became first aide-de-camp to Nicolas himself.

But the tedious round of drilling and reviews was ill-adapted to the young man's tastes, and he pined for more congenial pursuits. At length the system told upon his health, and he was ordered by his physicians on a foreign tour. It was hoped that change and relaxation would restore his vigour. He went first to Germany, travelling in splendid state, and meeting everywhere with a brilliant reception. At the court of Hesse-Darmstadt he prolonged his stay, attracted by the presence of the Grand Duke's daughter, the Princess Marie, whom he married before he took his leave. This was in 1841.

The relief he found abroad from the strictness and monotony of the barrack-room life at home was beneficial to the prince in more ways than one. His health improved, and, in intercourse with members of his mother's family and others, he came under influences that helped to foster the humaner side of his character, which had been entirely neglected under his father's stern *régime*. At the same time, his eyes were opened to many of the evils attending his father's narrow mode of government, and he learnt lessons by which he has since endeavoured to profit. But these foreign influences were drawing him aside from the rigorous military traditions of the Russian Court, and were thereby preparing trouble for him at home. His liberal tendencies provoked the displeasure of the old Russian party, whose conservatism was of the narrowest and most uncompromising type. There were ominous forebodings for the future. It was feared that the old Russian party might dispute his claim to the succession, and endeavour to set upon the throne his younger brother Constantine—a man much more to their mind. The fears and suspicions thus awakened caused distrust between the brothers, which at times broke out in open quarrels. On one occasion, Constantine, who was Admiral of the fleet, went so far as to put his elder brother under arrest, and thereby drew upon himself the anger of his father. On the birth, in 1843, of Alexander's first child, Nicolas obliged Constantine to swear fidelity to his brother, an act which he had subsequently to repeat beside the death-bed of his father.

In 1850 the Czarevich paid a visit to the South of Russia, through which he made a two months' tour, concluded by a skirmish against the Circassians of the Caucasus. For his conduct in this affair he obtained the Order of St. George from his father, on the request of Prince Worontzoff, who had been a witness of the adventure. It is believed that he was opposed, a few years later, to the conduct of Nicolas, when he brought the country into the Crimean War; and it is certain that when, in 1855, he succeeded his father on the throne, he took the earliest opportunity of making peace with the Allies. It was on the 2nd of March that the Emperor Nicolas died, a worn-out, broken-hearted man, constrained at the last,

it is said, to acknowledge that his system had been a failure, and succumbing prematurely to the stroke of death "among the wreck of all his idols." He summoned his two sons to his bedside, and obtained from both a solemn promise to remain united to each other for the sake of their country's welfare. Alexander declared his intention to assume the government, and when Nicolas died he was immediately proclaimed Emperor. His accession was celebrated by an amnesty to those Poles who had been exiled for revolt against Nicolas, and by a manifesto to the nation, indicating his adherence to the policy of his father, and his intention to uphold the glory of the empire, as it had been upheld by the most illustrious of his predecessors. He swore "to remain faithful to all the sentiments of his father, and to persevere in that line of policy which had served to guide him." His position was a difficult one: he inherited a situation that he had not made, and a policy he could not in his heart approve. The manifesto we have quoted he was obliged to make, in order to satisfy the desires of the war-party, and to pay a certain homage to the old Russian sentiment. But his declaration was couched in general terms, and it did not long remain a secret that, under his somewhat vague professions, he concealed opinions very different from his father's. At first, indeed, he could do no less than prosecute the war with vigour. He summoned General Rudiger from Warsaw, and placed him over the Imperial Guards, which had till then been under his own command. He renewed the powers of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, and through them made known his adherence to the former declarations of Prince Gortschakoff on behalf of Nicolas. He visited the Crimea in the course of the same year, inspected his army at Sebastopol, and issued orders for a further and most extensive levy. But all this zeal covered a real desire to bring the conflict to a close, so that no sooner did the capture of Kars occur, to compensate in some degree for the loss of Sebastopol, than the Emperor seized the opportunity to take steps towards peace. He accepted the conditions of the Allies, and sent plenipotentiaries to Paris to carry forward the negotiations, declaring, at the same time, that he desired for the future to bestow his attention upon the internal interests of the empire.

This announcement was no empty form of words. The national affairs were in a lamentable state. The war had drained the land of its resources, and the system of government pursued by Nicolas had culminated in confusion. There was abundant scope for every species of reform, and the new Emperor applied himself with zeal to the task that lay before him. His position was one of more than ordinary difficulty, even for a Russian Czar. His uncle Alexander's reign had been marked by the inauguration of many wide reforms, but the circumstances of his latter years had paralysed his efforts. The rule of Nicolas had given a check to every measure of reform. The universities instituted by Alexander I. had been rendered well-nigh powerless by the foolish decrees of his successor, who limited the number of the students, and ordered the professors in the educational institutions at St. Petersburg to be selected from among the higher officers of the army. The public service was rotten to the core, and the military system had completely broken down. The new Czar set himself to correct all such defects. He began by endeavouring to purge the administration from corruption. His travels in other countries had made him aware of the abuses under which the Russian system suffered, and of the dangers which such abuses inevitably entailed; and he resolved to do his best to put them down. In this he was assisted by the public feeling of the country, which was aroused from lethargy by the Crimean War; and, although the enthusiasm of the movement has somewhat subsided since, it is undeniable that the Czar's endeavours have had a lasting effect.

He next reduced the army to the lowest limits consistent with the requirements of the empire, and laboured to promote the industry and commerce of the country at the same time that he bestowed attention upon its finances. But in nothing did he show himself more zealous than in his efforts to improve the education of his people. In this he followed the example of his uncle Alexander, who had established universities, founded schools, and done his best to encourage scientific enterprises. The second Alexander had from his earliest years been intimately associated with educational affairs. He had been named Chancellor of the University of Finland before he was eight years old, although he could not discharge the duties of the office until he came of age. But, once arrived at manhood, he did not allow the post to remain a sinecure. On his return to Russia after his marriage, he applied himself with diligence to the duties of his position; and by his assiduity and liberality on behalf of the education of the province, he gained the affections of the Finns for the Imperial house. He founded a chair of Finnish language and literature in the university, gave his patronage to the Academy of Finnish Literature, and supported out of his own private means a number of investigations and expeditions undertaken by Finnish savants. After the death of the Grand Duke Michel Paulovich he was made director of the imperial military schools. This office he fulfilled with so much zeal as to win the praise of even Nicolas himself, who thanked him for the care he took to bring up the youth of the country "in the genuine Russian spirit." His attention to education after his accession to the throne is therefore not surprising. He endeavoured to place the colleges of Russia on a footing with the best in Europe. On the 8th of September, 1855, the day succeeding that of his coronation, a new faculty of Oriental Languages was inaugurated at the University of St. Petersburg. In October he abolished the limit placed by Nicolas on the number of students at the universities, and, in the following February, he reversed another enactment of his father's, by declaring that, in future, military men should not be appointed to chairs of education in civil establishments. Finally, a ukase published in the end of May, 1856, placed the administration of public education under the direct and personal superintendence of the Emperor.

But the most memorable of his reforms is the emancipation of the serfs. Alexander I. and Nicolas had both desired, but been unable, to effect it: and its accomplishment is due to the energy and courage of the present Czar. As early as 1856, immediately after the proclamation of peace, he endeavoured to sound the feeling of the nation on the subject, as he was aware that it had begun to occupy the attention of the nobility. But the hints he ventured to throw out at that time were not received with zeal, and he discovered that the responsibility of action in the matter must rest entirely upon himself. One of the foremost difficulties at starting was the fact that it would be necessary to give the emancipated peasants land, in order to prevent the confusion that would result if they were allowed to wander about the country; and land for this purpose could only be obtained by taking it away from the proprietors. The Czar's first step was to appoint a secret committee of the great officers of state to consider the principles on which the emancipation should be effected. But this "Chief Committee for Peasant Affairs," as it was called, did not proceed with sufficient activity in its task: so a circular was prepared and sent throughout the provinces, empowering the proprietors to form committees for the consideration of the matter. Such a hint from the autocratic power was equivalent to a command which the nobles could not afford to overlook. The result was awaited with anxiety. The Press hailed the proposal with enthusiasm, and an abolitionist fervour was aroused among the nobles themselves. The conclusions of the provincial committees were submitted to an Imperial Commission, which was to elaborate a general scheme to be approved of by the Czar,

It was this commission that really framed the Emancipation Law. Many of the proprietors offered a good deal of opposition to the proposals, but this was of little avail. The final conclusions of the commission were accepted by the Emperor, and passed into law with no fundamental changes. The decree was signed on the 19th of February, 1861; and thus, at one stroke of the pen, more than twenty million serfs were freed. A manifesto containing the provisions of the measure was circulated throughout the empire, and ordered to be read in all the churches. For particulars we must refer to the work of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace,\* who has devoted several chapters to a consideration of this question.

Two other notable reforms remain to be considered before we pass to other subjects. The first of these is the reorganisation of the judicial system—a gigantic task, which must have taxed the Emperor's energy and perseverance hardly less than the emancipation of the serfs itself. Under the former system there were no law courts such as we understand by the term. The procedure in the best of cases was secret and insufferably slow, while corruption and inefficiency were almost universal. A commission was set to work upon the subject, and had for its result the promulgation of an Imperial enactment on the 29th of September, 1862, containing the principles on which the new judicial system was to be established. The legislation founded upon these principles was confirmed by the Emperor on the 20th of November, 1864. The old procedure was completely swept away, and an entirely new system established, which is simple in construction and symmetrical in form. The judicial was completely separated from the other branches of the administration; the most ample publicity was provided for the tribunals, jury trials being introduced for criminal cases, while Justice of the Peace Courts were created for petty affairs. For further details of the system we must again refer to Mr. Wallace's "Russia" (Vol. II., ch. xxxiii.). The good effects of this reform have, on the whole, been great, though in practice it is as yet very far from perfect. Moreover, it does not even profess to secure to every man a hearing or a trial, for, alongside of the organisation of the law courts, the so-called "administrative procedure" still survives, which enables the Government to arrest an individual on suspicion, and to remove him without a trial to a distant town, where he is compelled to live under the supervision of the police; and the Government is not slow to adopt this course in cases where a regular trial might be inconvenient. The other great reform referred to was also carried through in 1864, though it was not until the following year that it came into operation. This was the establishment of elective assemblies for the local self-government of the provinces, districts, and municipalities. The members are elected indifferently from among the peasants or the nobles, and to their care are consigned all matters of merely local interest. They impose taxation in their districts, and adopt such measures as its welfare may seem to demand. The inauguration of these assemblies was at first regarded as a tentative measure, to be followed by the creation of a representative parliament for the empire; and accordingly, in January, 1865, many of the nobles petitioned the Czar in favour of such a scheme. But this was peremptorily declined. The Emperor was desirous to effect reforms in his dominions, but it was no part of the Imperial pleasure in any way to diminish the absolute supremacy of its own authority.

The same determination to preserve intact the power of the Imperial will, and to consolidate the empire under the one strong hand of the Czar, has been manifested in Alexander's

\* "Russia," Vol. II.



dealings with disaffection in his dominions. This has been especially the case with his treatment of the Poles. The natural humanity of his disposition has at times inclined him to act with clemency and make concessions; while, on the other hand, his determination to maintain his own authority unimpaired, and to carry out a policy of unity and centralisation in his empire, has induced him to extinguish with severity, and even cruelty, the national aspirations of the Poles, whenever they were too decidedly opposed to the Imperial will. Very early he gave the Poles to understand what his policy towards them would be. The limited amnesty, published soon after his accession to the throne, applied only to those exiles who showed repentance for the part they had taken in the revolt of 1830-31, while even to them it did not restore their confiscated goods; and it was followed some time after by a speech of the Czar to the nobility at Warsaw, in which he clearly announced his intention to repress inordinate aspirations. "Above all," he said, "no dreams! I shall be able to hold to their duty those who persist in fostering illusions. Finland and Poland are as dear to me as all the other provinces of my empire, but for the good of the Poles themselves it is essential that they remain for ever united to the great family of the Russian Czars. I would rather recompense than punish, but at need I shall know how to use severity, and severity I shall use." The events of the next few years unhappily gave him an opportunity of making good his declaration. Poland soon became his chief embarrassment. From the beginning of 1861 till the beginning of 1864 the whole country was seething with revolt, which, though it appeared at times to be suppressed, always broke out anew upon the smallest provocation. The origin of this disturbance seems to have been connected with certain concessions the Czar had granted to the Poles, which roused the national spirit without satisfying its demands. In February, 1861, a popular demonstration occurred on the battle-field of Cracow, to commemorate the struggle of 1831. The gathering was rudely dispersed by the military, and several persons were killed in the fray. Great excitement was occasioned by their funeral, and the population generally went into mourning. An address was forwarded to the Czar by 60,000 Poles, and reforms were promised by the Government. Poland was to be re-established as a separate kingdom, and its educational system reorganised. A Council of State was formed, consisting of the principal citizens and high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and elective councils and municipalities were to be formed throughout the country. But these large promises were not all kept, and the disturbances broke out afresh, fostered greatly by minute and oppressive regulations with regard to national customs and attire. The difficulties increased, till, towards the end of 1862, insurrection was almost universal. On the night of the 22nd of January, 1863, a violent outbreak occurred at Warsaw, during which many Russians were put to death by the insurgents. This was the signal for a fiercer struggle than ever. Poland was declared in a state of siege by the Russians, while, on the side of the Poles, a secret provisional government was formed, which directed every movement of the insurgents, but contrived to keep itself and all its doings completely in the dark. The wild guerilla warfare which was carried on all through that spring provoked the Czar and his representatives to acts of cruelty and oppression. The Czar had offered an amnesty to all who should lay down their arms before a certain date. But this proposal was rejected by the Poles, and the strife continued as before. The Poles set up claims of national independence which the Russians would not grant, and the Russians endeavoured by violence to break the neck of the revolt. This state of matters attracted the attention of the whole of Europe, and in France, Italy, and England profound sympathy was excited by the struggles of the Poles. The Governments of these three countries at length



interposed, and endeavoured to stay the avenging hand of Russia; but the intervention was in vain. The Emperor and his Government would brook no interference: they were determined to chastise the insurgents into submission. So negotiation ceased, and the combatants were left alone to fight it out. By the beginning of 1864 the revolt was nearly crushed, Russia having obtained once more the upper hand. In June, a proclamation of the Czar allowed the Poles who had fled abroad to return to Poland, provided they had committed no capital offence; and a few measures of reform were adopted by the Government. But acts of clemency like these were but interludes between cruelty and rigour. The alternations of oppression and indulgence had a mischievous effect, causing new troubles which required new severity to put them down. The Polish language was interdicted in all public places; the Poles were incapacitated from acquiring titles to landed property, and nobility was conferred upon the Russians who purchased the confiscated estates. Poland itself was designated "The Vistula Province" in the Imperial decrees, and early in 1868 its separate Government was abolished, and entire union effected with the rest of the Russian Empire. His treatment of the Poles is generally regarded as the greatest blot upon the Czar's reputation for humanity; and, certainly, he quelled the rising with a heavy hand. It is easy to enter into the feeling of the Poles, who clung with desperate persistence to their nationality, and to sympathise with their efforts for independence, which seemed so just and proved so ineffectual. But Russia's oppressive attitude towards Poland had now become traditional, and was by this time hardly separable from the national policy. Justly or unjustly, Poland had been subdued in the past, and it was hardly to be expected that a Russian Czar, be he ever so humane, would be willing to give way at the moment of revolt. Nor would it have been safe for him to do so. The Poles had appealed to the sword, and they must abide by its decision. And it is but fair to add that since the final and effectual suppression of the revolt, and the thorough incorporation of Poland with the rest of Russia, the Emperor has shown himself inclined towards clemency, as far as the national policy would permit.

The Czar is credited with a lively interest in European questions, and he has not been so wholly engrossed with internal affairs as to be unable to take his part in the general policy of the Continent. The famous utterance of Prince Gortschakoff, "*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille,*" which may be taken seriously as the key to the Imperial policy, occurred in a vigorous circular to the Western Powers on the affairs of Sicily, at the time of the Neapolitan revolution. During the Cretan insurrection the Czar was active in affording relief to the persecuted Christians of the island, and, by his orders, many were rescued from the Turks in Russian ships of war. In 1870 a circular of Prince Gortschakoff's, announcing that his Sovereign would no longer hold himself bound by the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of 1856, caused considerable excitement in Europe. It only led, however, to the Conference of London in 1871, in which the Powers that had been parties to the Treaty of Paris consented to the abrogation of the neutrality of the Black Sea, and thus virtually granted all the Czar's demands.

In Asia events have from time to time necessitated a policy of aggression. An eighteen months' campaign in Turkestan led to the conquest of Bokhara in 1868, and in 1873 the Khan of Khiva was forced by General Kaufmann to submit to Russian rule. Still later, in 1876, as the result of another campaign, the whole of the territory of Khokand was annexed to Russia. On the other hand, in 1867 the Czar sold his possessions in North America to the United States, for the sum of £1,400,000.

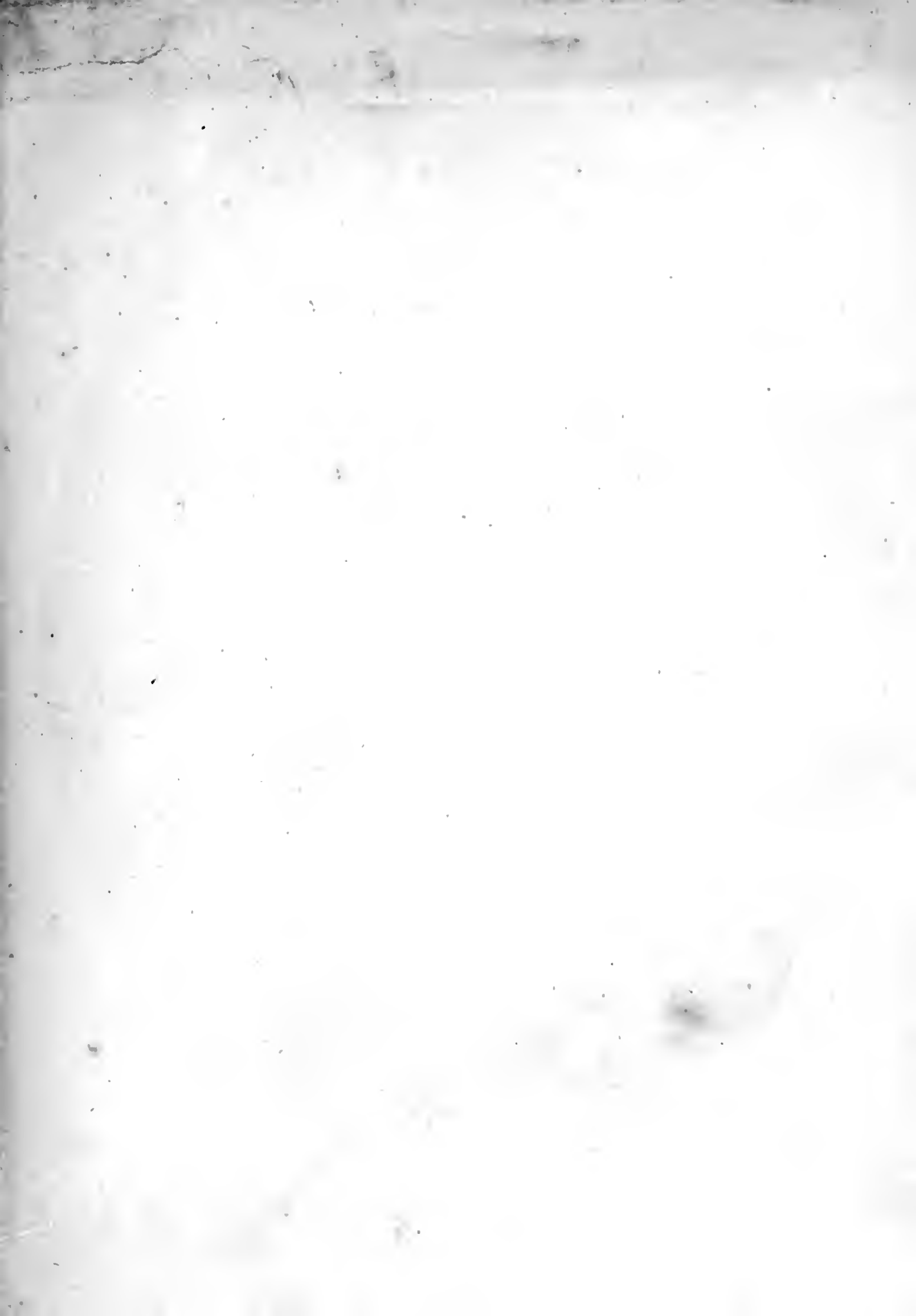
The Franco-Prussian War, which has caused such important and extensive changes in the rest of Europe, has had for its result in Russia the reorganisation of the military system, which has been recast after the German pattern, on the basis of universal liability to service. The splendid achievements which their organisation had enabled the Prussians to accomplish caused a movement of military reform throughout all Continental Europe, and notwithstanding the pacific professions and (we may well believe) intentions of the Czar, it was not long before its influence was felt in Russia. The Minister of War was commanded by the Emperor to prepare a new scheme of military service, and a Commission was appointed to draw up the law. An Imperial ukase issued on the 1st of January, 1874, announced that the movement initiated by the Czar had met with loyal and patriotic support from the nobility, who had hitherto been, as a class, exempt from service, and stated that the new military law was now prepared, and would be immediately enforced. All young men alike, with very few exceptions, were declared liable to serve after arriving at their twentieth year, but considerable deductions from the period of active service were made in the case of those who had attended the universities and schools. Not long after the publication of this decree, on the 23rd of January, 1874, the Grand-Duchess Marie was married at St. Petersburg to H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, and in May of the same year the Czar paid a visit to this country, where he met with a warm reception.

It was in 1874, also, that certain proposals of the Czar's brought about a conference at Brussels, with a view to establish a general understanding among European nations, as to the usages to be allowed in war. Its results, however, amounted to little more than mere recommendations of a Committee of Inquiry.

Into the history of the recent war with Turkey it is unnecessary to enter here. The events which led to it, from the first insurrection of the Christian subjects of the Porte to the failure of all attempts at negotiation with the Sultan, and the rupture between Russia and Turkey, on the 24th of April, 1877, will be fresh in the memory of all, as well as the details of the lamentable struggle that ensued, down to its final termination by the Treaty of Berlin. The contest followed too soon after the promulgation of the new military law to afford a fair criterion of its merits or success.

The life of the Czar has been twice attempted: once at St. Petersburg in 1866, when he was fired at by a workman, while getting into his carriage, on which occasion a peasant turned aside the pistol of the assassin and was ennobled for the act; and again, at Paris, in 1867, when a Pole, named Berezowski, fired into the carriage in which the Czar and his two sons were riding with the Emperor Napoleon. The attempt was a determined one, but nobody was hurt.

Alexander II. married, as we have already stated, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, on the 28th of April, 1841, and has had a numerous family. His eldest son the late Czarevich, Nicolas, was born on the 20th of September, 1843, and died prematurely at Nice, on the 24th of April, 1865. The present Czarevich, Alexander, was born in 1845, and is married to the Princess Dagmar of Denmark. The only daughter of the Czar is the Grand-Duchess Marie, who is now a member of our own Royal household.





Photographed by F. Gaudet, 27, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris.

CASELL, PETTER & GALPIN, LITH. LONDON.

OSMAN PASHA.

## GULF OF AN PACHA

AMONGST the brave  
 War of 1877-78  
 Osman Pasha, whose deeds are  
 admiration. A thorough soldier, he has done  
 for which his race has been famous, and  
 patriotism have earned for him the respect of all  
 banded combating the forces of Russia and  
 was quite unprepared those who spoke of  
 the prolonged and heroic resistance main  
 enemy, whose gigantic resources, it was  
 onslaught. The result, disastrous though  
 the part of Russia without an enemy  
 possessed other commanders of the  
 of invasion would have been  
 Russian territory instead of

Osman was born in  
 bank of the Yesil-Ir  
 month. Amasia is  
 Sultans. Strabo  
 Pontus, are still  
 The chief pr  
 of 25,000.

The pr  
 hero was the  
 of which are  
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 of twenty  
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 Tarsus.



## GHAZI OSMAN PASHA.

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AMONGST the names which have been recorded on the roll of heroes of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78—and they are not few—none stand so prominently forward as that of Osman Pasha, whose dogged and successful resistance to the Russians has called forth world-wide admiration. A thorough Turk in descent, he has displayed to the fullest extent those qualities for which his race has for centuries been famous, and his undaunted courage and unbounded patriotism have earned for him the respect of all nations. The spectacle of Turkey single-handed combating the allied forces of Russia and the Slav States, was one for which Europe was quite unprepared. Those who spoke of the effete condition of the Turk stood aghast at the prolonged and heroic resistance maintained against the fierce attacks of her northern enemy, whose gigantic resources, it was predicted, would crush all opposition at the first onslaught. The result, disastrous though it was to the Ottoman Empire, was not achieved on the part of Russia without an enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure. Indeed, had Turkey possessed other commanders of the calibre of Osman Pasha, it is more than likely that the tide of invasion would have been rolled back across the Danube, and the terms of peace settled on Russian territory instead of at first within sight of Stamboul, and subsequently at Berlin.

Osman was born in the year 1832 at Amasia, a town in Asia Minor situated on either bank of the Yeshil-Irmak—the river Iris of ancient geography—about eighty miles from its mouth. Amasia is the capital of the vilayet of Sivas, and was long the seat of the Osmanli Sultans. Strabo, the geographer, was born there, and the rock-hewn tombs of the kings of Pontus are still to be seen in the vicinity. In the neighbourhood are copper and silver mines. The chief productions are silk, wine, cotton, corn, tobacco, and madder, and it has a population of 25,000.

The parents of Osman were poor, and his brother kept a school, at which the youthful hero was taught the Koran, that essential element of a Mohamedan's education, the doctrines of which are from the earliest age inculcated in the minds of the youth. To the tenets of their religion may be traced the Islam scorn of death, and the Kismet it teaches is ever present to sustain them under vicissitudes. Osman early showed a predilection for a military career, and by means of local interest he obtained admission to the military academy at Constantinople, where he completed his education. His energy in study, and determination to overcome all obstacles, soon brought him to the notice of his superiors, and at the age of twenty-one he was rewarded with a commission, and entered on a career of active service shortly after, which has continued ever since. Amongst his fellow-pupils at the military college were Mehemet Ali and Suleiman, both of whom became his brothers in arms, and shared with him the dangers of the field, and took part in the fierce struggle for the liberty of Turkey. Mehemet Ali, a German by blood and birth, became a famous leader in the Ottoman

army, and met his death at the hands of the Albanian insurgents during the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, while Suleiman continued till recently at Constantinople amongst the staff; but, in consequence of his conduct in the war, he was, in November, 1878, tried by court martial, found guilty of numerous military offences, and sentenced to be interned in a fortress for five years. Suleiman, while acting alone, succeeded for a lengthened period in defending the Balkan passes, and his skill as a commander was shown on many occasions; but his great fault lay in his recklessness.

Two years after Osman took up his appointment the war-cloud which had been gathering in Southern Europe for a long period of years burst with fearful violence, and the campaign of 1855-6, when those memorable deeds which will ever live in European history were enacted, brought the young officer to the field.

Attached to the general head-quarter staff at Shumla, he was brought into contact with many of the English and French commanders who won fame in the Crimea, and the lessons he learnt in those days in the various branches of the art of war have stood him in good stead. The defeats inflicted by Omar Pasha on the Russians at Oltenitza, Kalafat, and Eupatoria, proved at the time the fighting quality of the Turk. Under this able leader, with whom he subsequently served in Crete, Osman acquired much to aid him in his future high commands. He devoted himself to the remodelling of the Turkish army, and the contingent raised and drilled by British officers during the Crimean hostilities formed a *nucleus* for him to work on. This force consisted of about 10,000 men drawn from the militia of the empire, and the members were for the most part quite unacquainted with military discipline, with the exception of what they had learnt during a short and very imperfect term of training. The admirable condition to which they were brought after a very brief exercise under efficient officers conclusively showed how much might be justly expected from Turkish reserves, and Osman was quick to perceive the excellence of the material at hand for warlike purposes. Many of these troops took an active part in the successful defence of Silistria, and it needed but a little more discipline to transform them into soldiers capable of creditably holding their own in any European warfare. It may safely be said, and, indeed, is the opinion of many British officers of high standing and great experience, that the Turks possess qualifications eminently calculated to fit them for favourable comparison with the best soldiers of other countries. This opinion has been fully borne out by recent events. With reference to the Turkish contingent, it may be remarked that no new system was introduced by the officers entrusted with its organisation. The old drill was maintained, but greater tact in handling the men produced a degree of steadiness which led to the most successful results. The quick perception of the men with regard to the object of manœuvres was particularly noticeable, and their excellence as marksmen was proverbial. The great want in the army of the Sultan is good officers, and there can be no doubt that this is the weak point of the Turkish system. A few brilliant exceptions, such as Osman Pasha, occasionally occur; but there is no disguising the fact that the subordinate officers, either from a want of proper training, or being drawn from too low a social sphere, place the rank and file in a less formidable position than they ought to occupy.

The Franco-German war proved that this was not confined to the Turkish Empire; and some European nations might profit by the experience gained in that war, which terminated so disastrously for France.

In his admirable history of the invasion of the Crimea, Mr. Kinglake bears testimony to the deeds of the Turkish soldiery, and in his account of the defence of Silistria, says:



"By diligent fighting on the hillside, by sapping close up to the ditch, by springing mines, which more than once blew in the counterscarp and levelled the parapet, by storming it in the daytime, by storming it at night, the Russians strove hard to carry the work; but when they sprang a mine they ever found that behind the ruins the Turks stood retrenched; and whether they stormed it by day or by night, their masses were always met fiercely, were always driven back with a cruel slaughter." The effect of the presence of European officers was on this occasion particularly apparent. "On the side of the Turks, Mussa Pasha, who commanded the garrison, was killed; but Butler and Nasmyth, now obeyed with a touching affection and trustfulness by the Ottoman soldiery, were equal to the historic occasion which they had the fortune and the spirit to seize. It seemed that the presence of these youths was all that was needed for making of the Moslem hordes a faithful and devoted soldiery. Upon ground known to be mined, they stood as tranquilly as upon any hillside. It was impossible not to admire the cool indifference of the Turks to danger. Three men were shot in the space of five minutes while throwing up earth for the new parapet, at which only two men could work at a time so as to be at all protected; and they were succeeded by the nearest by-stander, who took the spade from the dying man's hands and set to work as calmly as if he were going to cut a ditch by the roadside. Indeed, the childlike trust which these men were able to put in their young English leaders, so freed them from all doubt and question concerning the wisdom of the orders given, that they joyfully abandoned themselves to the rapture of fighting for religion, and grew so enamoured of death, so enamoured of the very blackness of the grave, that sometimes in the pauses of the fight a pious Mussulman, intent on close fighting and blissful thoughts of Paradise, would come up with a pickaxe in hand, would speak some touching words of devotion and gratitude to Butler and Nasmyth, and then proudly fall to work to dig for himself the last home, where he charged his comrades to lay him as soon as he attained to die."

Osman's capacity obtained rapid recognition, and at the outbreak of the Cretan insurrection in 1866 he was selected to proceed to the island. From the rank of captain in the Imperial Guard—which he held at that time—he was rapidly promoted step by step, until he attained a colonelcy. With his advance his energy increased, and the position giving him more scope for the exercise of his talents, his services were so valuable that at the conclusion of the war and the subduing of the insurgents he was made a brigadier-general, and placed in command of the Syrian corps d'armée. The vigorous stand made by the insurgents brought many a severe lesson to the Turks, and taught them the value of earthworks, which they were not slow to recognise.\*

More or less engaged in active administration in those principalities where the seeds of revolt were ever present, Osman at the outbreak of war with Servia in 1876 was at Widdin as commandant. He took an active part in the subsequent operations, and for exceptionally brilliant conduct at the battle of Saitshar was created "Mushir," or Field-Marshal, after a service of twenty-three years. The continuous struggle for independence by the Slav populations of the tributary Christian States, and the unwillingness of Turkey to brook foreign interference in her internal affairs, soon brought matters to a crisis, and on the intervention of Russia on behalf of her co-religionists, war was declared between the two countries, and

\* Many attempts have been made to show that Osman, during the Cretan Insurrection, was guilty of barbarity; but nothing more than strict adherence to military rule can be proved.

active operations almost immediately commenced. Osman was still at Widdin; but on the Russians successfully making the passage of the Danube, he marched to the relief of Nicopolis, which was surrounded, but taking advantage of an oversight of the enemy, and finding himself unable to then serve the beleaguered garrison, he hastened to Plevna, which he entered on the 14th July, 1877. His great strategic skill displayed itself in the choice of this point to make a stand. Situated between Widdin and Rustschuk, on the direct road to the passes leading into Turkey south of the Balkans, the presence there of a force such as Osman had, effectually prevented the Russians from moving forward towards Adrianople, and ultimately Stamboul. The main body of the Czar's troops after crossing the river were almost unmolested, and General Gourko by great dash effected the passage of the Balkans. Firmosa was taken and Sistova occupied. But Osman's position rendered these successes of no avail.

The capacity for striking in any direction which the position of Plevna gave, kept the enemy ever on the watch, paralysed and uncertain whence they might be attacked. A great Turkish victory at this period of the war would have been eminently disastrous to the Russians, and they were compelled to stay their advance until sufficient reinforcements arrived to enable them to completely invest the town, which became the scene of Osman's greatest exploits. The experience gained in its assault has completely revolutionised that portion of the art of war relating to the attack and defence of entrenched camps, and the ineffectual bombardment of Plevna proved that artillery fire can be rendered useless by earthworks constructed on scientific principles.

The campaign of 1866, by Prussia against Austria, in which the needle-gun proved so effectual, caused a sudden change in the armament of soldiers throughout the civilised world, and the immense superiority of the breech-loader as a weapon for both offensive and defensive purposes has been fully proved since then by many a bloody field.

The numerous inventions in military rifles have produced weapons almost as superior to the needle-gun as that was to the old muzzle-loader, and the adoption of the Martini-Peabody by the Turks, a similar rifle to that with which British soldiers are armed, placed them in a very advantageous position for the purposes of defence. The raw levies of the Sultan behind earthworks provided with this deadly and rapid-shooting rifle, were enabled to hurl back with terrific slaughter again and again the hosts of the enemy, who rushed with unavailing determination and mad impetuosity on the redoubts. Osman's rare skill as an engineer enabled him in an incredibly short space of time to convert the open town of Plevna into an invulnerable encampment. On the 24th and 31st of July, ten and seventeen days respectively after he had entered the town, he repulsed two vigorous attacks of the Russians, and inflicted such losses as to cripple them for some time for aggressive movements. He made little use of his artillery, and is said to have remarked that he could have got on just as well without it, the rifle being all that was required to successfully repulse the attacks made on him.

Reinforced by the Roumanians, the Russian commander in September renewed the attack, but with the same result—failure—his losses amounting to no less than 25,000 men. On the 11th of that month, a combined movement was made in the presence of the Czar, who was assured of witnessing the triumphs of his troops. General Skobeloff succeeded in capturing three redoubts, but they were re-taken the following day, while the Roumanians suffered heavy losses before the famous Gravitza redoubt. The advance of the Russians was paralysed, and for a time Constantinople was safe, the main body of the enemy being held completely in check. Osman, when he found the enemy abandoning their system of direct assault, and reverting

to that of investment, telegraphed to Constantinople for instructions to retreat, or reinforcements, knowing full well that in time he must succumb if he held his position. To his appeals, which daily became more urgent, he received direct orders to hold Plevna to the last, and on no account to retire. He faithfully did his duty, but again urged the necessity of despatching reinforcements to his aid. At last, Suleiman Pasha, the former fellow-pupil of Osman, was entrusted with this task, but his reckless conduct brought only disaster, and the defenders of Plevna were left to their fate.

One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of Turkey is undoubtedly to be found in the prevalence of intrigues within the Sultan's Palace. From the Seraglio proceed those frequent changes which stifle the energy of reformers; and to the baneful influence it possesses may be traced all the evils of Ottoman misrule. Everything gives way to personal feelings. Private jealousies are imported into the most important public acts. The highest officers of the empire are constantly at variance, through the distrust which is universal. Their tenure of office depends not on their ability or public opinion, but on the favour of the Harem. Under these circumstances it rarely happens that either soldier or diplomatist escapes unscathed. To gain popular favour to such an extent as to place him beyond the reach of unscrupulous and unpatriotic rivals is an almost unknown occurrence, but Osman Pasha may justly be said to have reached that eminence. No better example of the effect of the jealousy of the Pashas can be given than the acts of Suleiman after he was entrusted with the command of the troops so tardily sent to relieve Plevna. His country was struggling with the energy of despair against an overwhelming combination of relentless foes. Beaten on all sides but one, the fate of Turkey hung on the result of Osman's defence. The popular voice called aloud for energetic action while there was yet time, and the demand for men was responded to in a manner beyond all praise. Notwithstanding all this, Suleiman, jealous of the successes of his comrade in arms and fellow-pupil, was guilty of wantonly pursuing a course of action which he knew would cause the failure of the object of his despatch. His brave soldiers were sacrificed by thousands in useless and insane manœuvres. His utter imbecility ruined his country, and his want of patriotism must ever be considered as a stain on his character which nothing will efface. A correspondent, writing at the time, remarked that Russia could wish for no better ally than the Seraskierat Council. It is composed of a clique whose sole object appears to be to thrust their favourites upon the country, and thwart rather than aid competent and experienced generals.

The reverses of the Russians necessitated a change of commanders in their forces, and General Todleben, whose gallant defence of Sebastopol had won him fame as an engineer, was despatched to take charge of the siege operations against Plevna. He adopted the only tactics likely to succeed, and determined to starve into surrender the gallant men who defied all attempts at assault. Slowly but surely the circle around the devoted town was contracted, and all communication cut off. The supplies of the defenders grew daily smaller and smaller; rations were gradually reduced until the quantity doled out was just and only sufficient to maintain life. Osman himself shared all the ills of the time. Personally he superintended the works, and his presence was sufficient to restore confidence to the starving men. Notwithstanding the state of more than semi-starvation existing in Plevna, there were no signs of surrender, and the excitement which prevailed in Europe was strained to the greatest point. The capacity of the Turkish soldier to subsist on almost nothing astonished the world. The quantity of supplies was known, the number of people behind the entrenchments accurately ascertained, and statisticians, with the usual energy of their class, set about to calculate the proportions of food

available, and to predict the date of surrender. But the people who had been brought up in a faith which commands periods of lengthened fasting, faithfully observed by its followers, defied calculation. Days lengthened into weeks, and weeks into months, and still Plevna held out. The only aid Osman received was forwarded from Sophia, by way of Orkhanie, namely, some convoys under Sufket Pasha. But in November this road was interrupted by General Gourko, and the heroic defence was rapidly drawing to a close. Disappointed in his hopes of relief, Osman at last decided to sally forth, and by one supreme effort try to break through the ring of steel which encircled him. Laying his plans with consummate skill, and directing a feint in one direction, he advanced with the main body in another, and strove, with the energy of despair, to escape. On the morning of the 10th December, 1877, Osman sallied forth at the head of his troops, followed by the inhabitants, and dashed with great determination on the enemy's positions. During the night he had evacuated the positions east of the Vid, and withdrawn all his forces to the western side of the river, where they remained preparatory to the final attempt to escape. He had executed this movement so skilfully and secretly, that the first intimation the Russians received of his intentions was through a deserter. This man entered their lines at four o'clock in the morning, and brought the news that the Krishine redoubt which he had just left was abandoned. A movement was at once made towards the work, which was occupied, and everything got ready to resist the Turks. The artillery and transport trains from Plevna were on the Sophia road, waiting for a passage to be made by the infantry for their exit. As soon as there was sufficient light to distinguish objects, Osman ordered a demonstration to be made against the Roumanian lines in the direction of Orpanes Shumla; at the same time he himself directed a column against the Russian positions to the right of the Sophia road, the real object of attack. This column was composed of the Turkish Imperial Guard, and the men, personally led by the Commander-in-Chief, rushed with an impetuosity which carried all before it on one of the redoubts, which was captured together with the six guns forming its armament, almost annihilating those regiments of Russian Grenadiers who were opposed to them. A large portion of the artillery of the enemy was brought to bear on this point, and after an hour's bombardment it was re-captured. The battle raged furiously for six hours. The main body of the Turkish army was massed in the valley of the Vid. The heights surrounding them were crowned by the enemy's batteries, which poured an incessant storm of shot and shell on the devoted band. Osman had done all an able general could do; but spies had done their work; his plan of operations had been revealed, and the Russian forces were massed directly against him, while the feint was allowed to proceed almost unheeded. Mowed down by the withering fire of entrenched troops, the brave Turks who had penetrated the Russian line of entrenchments and batteries were checked at the last point; thousands fell facing the enemy, and at last, Osman being himself wounded, the order was given to retire to the town. In the meantime, while the Turks had been held in check in front, a force of Roumanians had gone round, and taken up a position in their rear. On Osman endeavouring to retreat, he found the enemy behind him, and, taken on all sides, was obliged to surrender with 40,000 men, the flower of the Turkish army. General Granetzky received the sword of the gallant Turk, who, though wounded personally, conducted the negotiations for the capitulation. Thus ended the siege of Plevna, which stands in the first rank of historical defences.

During the fighting on the 10th December, the Russians lost nearly 2,000 men, while the killed and wounded on the Turkish side amounted to some 6,000. Seventy thousand

stand of arms fell into the hands of the captors, and by the surrender of Plevna an allied Russian and Roumanian army of over 100,000 men, which had been held stationary for five months, was released to continue the invasion. Servia also, emboldened by the now helpless condition of the Ottoman Empire, declared war, and added to the forces massed against the Turks. A few days previous to the capture of Osman, Suleiman Pasha had succeeded in taking Elena by a brisk and well-devised attack. His failure, therefore, to relieve the town was all the more surprising, as he had shown himself capable of devising operations with no mean amount of skill. One of the main causes which led to Osman's attempt to break out, was the fact that an epidemic had made its appearance amongst the inhabitants. The mortality was increasing at a fearful rate and threatened to attack the soldiers, in order to save whom he determined to assume the aggressive.

One of the most admirable traits in the character of Osman was the unvaried courtesy he displayed towards the foreigners who were by circumstances placed in his camp. Throwing aside the fanaticism which is so liable to outweigh every other consideration, his bearing was at all times consistent, and he fully appreciated the aid of that invaluable institution, the Red Cross Society, to the members of which, unlike other Turkish generals, he invariably gave every possible aid. Eight hundred sick and wounded, attended by Greek doctors, were found in the town, together with a large number of persons wearing the badge of the Society—sufficient evidence to confute any statements to the effect that the General was averse to receive aid for his wounded and suffering men.

Osman, who had received the title of "Ghazi" (or the Victorious) from the Sultan, became after the fall of Plevna a prisoner of war in the hands of the Russians, but he was treated with the greatest courtesy by his conquerors, and his sword was returned to him by the Czar, who gave strict orders for his careful treatment. The most gratifying proof of the impression his bravery had made on his foes, and the one most touching to the gallant soldier, must have been the respect with which he was received by the Russian and Roumanian soldiers on his entry a captive into their lines. His stubborn resistance had gained their admiration, and friend and foe alike vied to render him honour, the men spontaneously, and in silence, saluting the wounded hero.

Notwithstanding the courtesy displayed towards the captive chief, it is astonishing to note that on his arrival at St. Petersburg steps were taken to try him for the alleged ill-treatment of prisoners taken by him at Plevna, and the efforts that were made to bring obloquy on his fame caused great and just surprise. No action, however, seems to have been taken, and Osman Pasha was amongst the first Turks sent back to Constantinople on the exchange of prisoners. The statement to the effect that he had committed suicide while in Russia, gave colour to the report that he had been ill-treated. But, in justice to the Czar, it should be said that no confirmation in the slightest degree was forthcoming of these allegations.

The eminent services rendered by Osman to his country were fully recognised by the Sultan, who conferred on him many distinguishing marks of honour; while the city of Constantinople presented him with a golden tablet. On his return to Turkey, Osman was placed in command of the defences of Stamboul, and at once set to work, in conjunction with Baker Pasha to strengthen them, and by his exertions he soon formed entrenchments, which drew the attention of the Russians. His energetic nature could not be balked, and under his directions operations were continued during the night, to the great annoyance of the Russians,

who wished to have Constantinople completely at their merey, an end likely to be frustrated if he were permitted to continue his line of defences.

The treaty of Berlin and subsequent withdrawal of the troops of the Czar from San Stefano relieved Turkey to a great extent from her troubles; and although an immense amount of territory has been lost to her, she still holds an important position in Europe. The career of Osman Pasha, and the mighty deeds his example incited those under him to do, must have a great influence on the future conduct of affairs regarding the vexed Eastern Question, which has for so many years been the cause of serious troubles between Russia and her European neighbours, as well as with England. The alliance of Turkey will now be looked on as not quite useless, and must weigh heavily in favour of the nation to which it is given. For, backed up by money and good officers, her resources of men could be developed to such an extent as to be sufficient to successfully repel all future attempts at invasion. The internal reforms now being inaugurated, and the public opinion which found expression in the case of the hero of Plevna, all tend to raise Turkey to a position which she has never before occupied.

Ghazi Osman Pasha is in the prime of life, his powers at their height. In stature about five feet eight inches, he is strongly built. His features are regular, and adorned with a full beard and moustache, while his clear eyes give him that confident expression which is his great characteristic. He is a model of frugality, endurance, and self-denial—qualities which, combined with the greatest patriotism and bravery, make him a man of whom any country might justly be proud.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by T. Cholet, 17, Boulevard des Italiens, Paris.]*







CASSELL, PETTER & GALPIN LITH.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I. EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA







## THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

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IT is difficult to delineate the life of a sovereign without writing the history of his realms for the period of his rule. In the case of Denmark or Belgium this task would not be so very difficult, both these States being comparatively compact and homogeneous, to which the relation of the ruler is direct and simple; but in the case of a country like Austria-Hungary, an Empire-Kingdom, complex in its origin and composition, and governed in a manner peculiar to itself, it is almost impossible to present a picture of the ruler without at the same time unduly crowding the canvas with the persons of the ruled. Another grave difficulty in the way of a king's biographer is that he must necessarily credit the sovereign, as representing his subjects, with events and achievements which have become identified with him, but which he never initiated; and thus it happens that many a poor monarch comes to be falsely invested with the qualities of a hero, and that many an honest king, like the statue of the ancient artist who sought to create a perfect human form by combining every conceivable beauty, merely strikes the eye as a mass of incongruity. To present a picture in which neither of these extremes shall predominate ought to be the aim of him who undertakes to portray the life and character of Francis Joseph, a Catholic and a constitutional sovereign, with territorial titles enough to fill a book; the ruler of races so various that his Imperial mantle, like the coat of his Hebrew namesake, ought to be of many colours; a member of that Triple Alliance which, notwithstanding all that has been said about it, has probably more of mystery than of meaning; and the trustee of the interests of well-nigh thirty-six millions of his fellow-men.

The map of Austria-Hungary is a piece of ethnographical patchwork. It is as if all the nations of Europe had flung their political parings into a common caldron, whereunto Asia contributed some potent drug to make the mass ferment. In no other European country do we find such a variety of antipathetic races and contending religions: Germans, Slavs, Roumanians, Czechs, Croats, Poles, Italians, Orthodox and Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Gipsies, with subdivisions innumerable and shades of difference to infinity. To weld all these multifarious elements into one contented and harmonious whole, and to adapt the despotic form of government practised by his ancestors, and fostered by such ministers as Metternich, to the reforming spirit of the time—that was the task which devolved on Francis Joseph when, in 1848, still a mere youth of eighteen, circumstances called him to wield the Imperial sceptre of his house. That this beardless Hapsburg boy should have readily accepted a labour which his uncle had abandoned in despair, and from which his very father even shrank in dread, argued an amount of confidence in his own ability which could leave no doubt in him as to the efficacy of his resources, or a degree of ignorance and blindness to danger which is sometimes the surest road to success.

These were sad, tumultuous times; the faults and sins of long years were avenging themselves, and sovereign and people, estranged from each other, stood face to face in hostile array. The Revolution had made the tour of Europe, and Vienna burned to emulate the example of Paris. A mob had besieged the Burg, the Emperor conceded everything, Prince Metternich fled to England, and the regular garrison was withdrawn from the capital. Then followed the murder of Count Latour, the second flight of the Emperor, the march of Windischgrätz and Jellalich, the bombardments, the captures, and the executions. Meanwhile, Lombardy and Venice, seconded by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had risen in revolt; the Czechs began to agitate for fuller freedom, and had Prague, their capital, lustily bombarded about their ears; while Hungary flamed up in open insurrection. Unable to cope with these calamities, the Emperor Ferdinand was induced to abdicate, and his brother Francis Charles, who was his legal successor, likewise renounced his right in favour of his son, who, though scarcely eighteen, was declared of age, and proclaimed Emperor under the title of Francis Joseph I.

Bidding his youth adieu, the new monarch set himself courageously to the task before him, and on the suppression of the rising in Hungary he promulgated a new Constitution (4th March, 1849), calculated, as he thought, to introduce order and contentment into his dominions. This Charter of Liberty, like that of Midhat Pasha, was profuse in its promises of liberty and equality; old abuses were to be abolished, and the whole representative system was to be thoroughly overhauled. Nothing could be more liberal than this paper law, but it was never heartily approved by the ruling powers; while the proclamation of a state of siege in many cities, and other expedients resorted to by those in power during a revolutionary period, easily enabled them to evade its provisions. Judged by the light of his later history, there is every reason to believe that the Emperor's intentions were really liberal; but though a ruler so young might have a wish, he could scarcely have a will of his own. He strove hard and honestly to carry out the new Constitution, but the Court Camarilla, the retrograde party in the State, the baleful faction of the Sword and the Cross, ultimately gained the upper hand, and things were soon again reduced to the *status quo ante*.

On the 20th of August, 1851, Francis Joseph once more assumed absolute power, "in order to subject the March Constitution to a revision, and see whether its execution was possible or not," making, at the same time, the ministry solely dependent on and responsible to him, and declaring the Reichsrath to be a mere council of the monarch. Schwarzenberg, in a circular to the Austrian ambassadors abroad, set forth that His Majesty was not obliged to observe the letter of the March Charter, which was one of those measures a sovereign, in the exercise of his authority, decrees, alters, or repeals according to conviction, and for which he is responsible only to God! By this declaration the political connection between the people of Cis- and Trans-Leithania was completely severed. On the 31st December, 1851, the March Constitution was repealed and buried with the dead, and on the same date the Emperor promulgated the fundamental principles for governing the Crown lands of the Empire. One will now reigned supreme, and even Hungary was compelled to bend before it. All hopes of acquiring even the shadow of self-government had for the time vanished. Bureaucracy and narrow brains everywhere swayed with resistless force; liberty of the Press, commercial laws and rights, trial by jury—all public life was swept away to make room for a centralised Austria. From 1852 till the Italian war in 1859, absolutism had a fair trial, and during that period the country made that extraordinary backward movement which was signalised to Europe in 1855 by the conclusion of the Concordat,

a treaty which, in matters of education and many domestic relations, virtually subordinated the civil to the ecclesiastical power, and made the obscurantist influence of the Pope paramount in Austria. Verily, Francis Joseph went to Canossa with a vengeance. At last, in 1859, the Piedmontese, burning to revenge their defeat at Novara, began to agitate for freedom; a proposal was made to Francis Joseph to refer the question to a European tribunal, but declined; the French troops poured across the Alps, with Napoleon III. at their head, eager to emulate the deeds of his uncle; the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino, and the Emperor was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace, by which Lombardy was lopped away from Austria. The Italian war overturned with a crash the whole edifice of his reactionary policy, and the truth began to dawn on Francis Joseph that to save his Empire from utter ruin he must alter his method of administration.

In May, 1859, the Emperor imparted to Count Rechberg his conviction of the necessity of appealing to the nation at large to participate in the transaction of public business, and that the system of the Metternichs and Schwarzenbergs must be for ever set aside. On the 15th July, 1859, he further issued a Manifesto, in which he promised the people of the monarchy that he would devote his entire attention to establishing it on a basis conformable with the spirit of the age. The Emperor dismissed his ministers and constructed a new Cabinet, but the enactment of some draconic Press laws spread deeper gloom over the country, which was not all relieved by the state of the finances; and the question then arose whether by summoning advisers from the whole monarchy better results might not be obtained. On the 5th March, 1860, therefore, the will of the Emperor was made known by a patent ordering an increase of the Reichsrath—heretofore more a consultative than a legislative body—by men of experience and patriotism drawn from all the Crown lands, and demanding from this assembly their opinion on a new organisation of the monarchy. Though not exactly answering to the wishes of the people, this “enlarged Reichsrath” was viewed as a step in the right direction, as tending to a Parliamentary life, which, if strenuously sought after, might ultimately be attained; and all men’s hopes in the future were raised when, on the 19th July, the Emperor further extended the functions of the Reichsrath, and declared his determination not to impose new taxes thenceforward nor increase the old ones without its concurrence. But the Government still remained centralist and bureaucratic; the Provincial assemblies were mere consultative bodies attached to the Emperor’s viceroy. His Majesty might make fair promises, but they were never carried out, and the Crown lands began to fret grievously. Not only was the internal state of the Empire deplorable, but its influence abroad was beginning to wane. In the Danubian Principalities, in Serbia, and among the southern Slavs it had lost its former ascendancy. The Sardinian Government had violated the Treaty of Villafranca; it was the weakness of Austria which allowed Sicily and Naples to be conquered by Garibaldi’s volunteers, and the Church States to be invaded without a declaration of war. Victor Emmanuel openly declared his intention to seize Venice at the earliest opportunity, while England sympathised with the idea of a united and independent Italy. Russia, again, remembering the refusal of Francis Joseph to assist her against the Western Powers in 1854, coolly pursued her own aims in the East without regard to the interest of Austria; while Prussia, it was well known, was only biding her time to oust the House of Hapsburg from its place of prominence in the Bund. In view of all this, therefore, Francis Joseph again felt that something must be done to stay the dissolution of his Empire. Forsaken by his allies without, he saw that salvation could only come from within; and in 1860, therefore, before leaving Vienna for

Warsaw to meet and confer with the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, he signed the oft-mentioned October Diploma, a sort of Austrian Magna Charta, containing the principles of a new Constitution. This document was preceded by a Manifesto, wherein the Emperor set forth that, having duly weighed the recommendation of the Reichsrath, he felt bound to accede to the demands and requirements of his several peoples, trusting to their patriotism and zeal for the development of the institutions granted. But the Diploma would not work. The statutes devised for the provinces were found to be impracticable. They restored the old institutions, and with them the old federative principles, retaining many of the worst features of the pre-revolutionary period. Political apathy or agitation was inevitable if the Diploma were enforced. The Hungarians, in particular, were intractable. They took their stand on the Pragmatic Sanction. By this compact the Hungarian nation gave the female line of the Hapsburgs the right to reign over them, provided only the future sovereigns of that dynasty should govern according to the laws of the country. They would, therefore, have their will. Ministers were changed and Manifestos were issued, but the Hungarians were not to be glaucoured; threatening Rescripts were read, but swerve from their purpose they would not. The Diet met at Pesth, and moved an address to the Emperor insisting on all their ancient rights; but Francis Joseph dissolved the stubborn assembly, and placed the country under martial law.

The next few years presented a constant spectacle of political chaos, of "Polyglot Parliaments" and "Parliamentary Strikes." The Austrian State was a confirmed invalid, and though the family physician had kept dosing it with an endless variety of Constitutions, Patents, Decrees, Manifestos, Diplomas, Rescripts, Ordinances, and all the *materia medica* of monarchs, the only result apparently was sheer prostration from so much physic. But a galvanic shock was now to be administered to the languid patient, calculated to send life and energy once more thrilling through her veins. Instead of seeking to set his own house in order, and consolidate Austria into that Slav State for which her geographical position seemed to mark her out, the Emperor had been ambitiously seeking to establish his pre-eminence in the Bund, and attain to the hegemony of the German States. He had failed to perceive that the Holy Roman Empire, overthrown by Napoleon, could never again be restored on its former factitious basis with the spiritual and temporal sway divided between the Vatican and Vienna, and that the head of a re-confederated Germany, in accordance with the spirit of the time, must be a Protestant, not a Papal, Power. A visit which Francis Joseph paid to Berlin in 1852 restored, to all appearance, those cordial relations between him and the King of Prussia which had been broken off for several years; but in 1863, when the Emperor invited the various potentates of Germany to meet him at Frankfort and consider a scheme of reform for their common fatherland, the conference proved abortive from want of hearty co-operation on the part of Prussia. Schwarzenberg, the Austrian minister, had striven hard to obscure the rising star of the Hohenzollerns, and to render the Hapsburgs second to none in Germany; but a mightier than Czernagora was in the field. With a will which knows no weakness, Bismarck had resolved to oust Austria from a position which she no longer knew how to justify, and to place Prussia in the van of the German nations. Why recount the various events which led to the accomplishment of this? In 1864 the Schleswig-Holstein question cropped up, when Prussia invited Austria to assist her in subduing the Elbe Duchies. Francis Joseph fell into the snare, and having taken over part of the plundered property in trust, he was accused by his partner in the spoil of malversation. The quarrel might have been unjustly forced upon him, but it could only be settled by the sword. How, then, the helmeted

legions of King William swarmed into Bohemia; how the force of Austria was dissipated by the sending of an army towards the Quadrilateral to keep in check the Italians who had leagued themselves with Prussia; how the needle-gun worked such fell havoc among the fairest manhood of Austria, leading up to the crowning victory of Königgrätz and the Treaty of Prague, by which Francis Joseph ceded the Elbe Duchies to Prussia, Venetia to Victor Emmanuel, and consented to his own perpetual exclusion from the German Confederation—all these are facts of too recent history to need further recital here.

This was the shock, then, that brought the Emperor to his senses. Seven years previously the Italian war had roused him into partial activity, but the Empire was still distracted, and Hungary in particular was implacable. The Diets met; ministers were sent about their business; conciliation was tried and failed; addresses were delivered to the Crown; committees sat; votes of censure and of confidence were passed. At last, on the 18th of February, 1867, an Imperial Rescript was read in both Houses of the Hungarian Diet, by which the Emperor, confiding in the loyalty of the nation, and putting entire confidence in her readiness to co-operate with him in preserving the Empire, restored and promised to defend the Hungarian Constitution, charging Count Andrassy with the formation of a responsible Ministry—thus constituting the Empire on the Dualistic principle. On the same day the Diets of the seventeen other kingdoms and countries of the monarchy were opened, and a message of the Emperor communicated to them, announcing the repeal of the suspension of the Constitution by the September Patent of 1865, and the return to a constitutional course.

Early in June, 1867, the Emperor and Empress went to Hungary for the purpose of being crowned King and Queen of that ancient realm. On arriving in Pesth, His Majesty signed the Diploma granting the Constitution, in presence of the magnates and deputies; and on the 8th of June he and his consort were solemnly crowned, with all the ancient usages, amidst great public rejoicing. At the same time the Emperor published an "Act of Grace," cancelling all sentences theretofore passed on any inhabitant of Hungary in consequence of offences against the Press laws, restoring confiscated estates, and permitting all political exiles to return. A coronation gift from the Hungarian nation was presented to the King and Queen in two silver caskets, each containing 50,000 ducats, and these their Majesties graciously made over to the widows and orphans of former Honveds, or Home-Defenders, those even who had fought against Austria in 1848-9. Internal relations being now rendered more secure, the Emperor further conciliated the love of his subjects by seeking to pursue the path of reform. The sincerity of the Emperor in his constitutional policy was proved by his answer to a memorial from the dignitaries of the Church against a revision of the Concordat. The prelates, who had deliberately affected to rely on the Emperor's prerogative in disregard of Parliament, were gravely reminded by His Majesty that their petition must be considered by his responsible ministers. In May, 1868, a Bill making marriage a civil ceremony received the Imperial assent; and in July, the Concordat with Rome was declared to be suspended in consequence of the promulgation of Papal Infallibility—a step followed, in 1874, by a Bill for the abolition of the obnoxious compact which had done more to enslave Austria than the veriest despot who ever ground her down.

During the whole of his reign Francis Joseph has been too much engrossed with the internal affairs of his Empire to pursue a very vigorous foreign policy. Notwithstanding that he had received the assistance of 100,000 men from Russia to quell the revolution in Hungary, he manifested sympathy with the cause defended by France and England by concluding a



treaty of alliance (2nd December, 1854) with the Western Powers. He managed, however, to play the part of mediator to the end; and the acceptance by the Emperor Nicholas of the four points of guarantee demanded by Francis Joseph in agreement with his allies obviated the necessity of his declaring war against a sovereign who had saved his Empire for him in 1849. When the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1 broke out, all men half expected to see Austria take her revenge for the crushing defeat inflicted on her at Sadowa by flying to the aid of the "man of destiny" who had conquered her at Solferino; and who can say that Francis Joseph would not have sought to befriend his Catholic brother Napoleon had he not suspected the war-dogs of Russia were hard behind him, ready to be slipped from their leash did he but stir a foot? But however that may have been, and whatever were the feelings with which Francis Joseph beheld the victorious progress of Prussia, it is certain that after the war he once more displayed his magnificent capacity for adapting himself to altered circumstances, meeting the newly-made Emperor of Germany at Gastein, and again at Salzburg (September, 1871), when, although no formal treaty was concluded, it was understood that the two sovereigns had arrived at a friendly understanding. Francis Joseph had come at last to see that it would be better for him frankly to recognise Italian and German unity; and he determined to promote a reconciliation between the two Empires. He therefore dismissed Count Beust, who was rather anti-Prussian in his tendencies, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, appointing Count Andrassy in his stead; and next year, accompanied by the latter, he paid a visit to Berlin, where he was joined by the Czar, with whom was Prince Gortchakoff, and the three Emperors engaged in deliberations upon which were supposed to hang the fate of Europe, though Prince Bismarck declared that the meeting was a mere act of private friendship. Next year, again, Francis Joseph was received with cordial hospitality at Berlin, while the German and Russian Emperors met with an enthusiastic reception at Vienna, and everything pointed to the extinction of former feuds and jealousies between the two powerful sovereigns who had striven so hard for supremacy in the Bund and on the battle-field.

Excluded from Germany, and but little interested to retain his footing in Italy, Francis Joseph now turned his thoughts to the East, for it required no prophetic eye to see that the "Sick Man" was about to swoon; and would it not be Christian-like to catch him in one's arms and break his fall? The discontented state of the neighbouring Slavo-Turkish provinces was a constant menace to the internal peace of Austria, whose southern populations, not perfectly contented themselves, were too apt to catch contagion from the insurrectionists across the Save. The Emperor had been meditating action long. In 1876, therefore, when the bankruptcy of Turkey was announced, and when the insurrection troubles broke out in Servia and the other Slav provinces, Francis Joseph was the first to give Europe the alarm. After consulting with, and procuring the assent of, the other two Imperial parties to the Triple Alliance, he caused Count Andrassy to draw up his famous Note to the Sultan, suggesting certain reforms for the pacification of his revolted dominions; but although that document was approved by the Powers, and accepted by his Ottoman Majesty, no good came of it, and the Turkish malady had to take its course. Drugging the patient with conferences and protocols would not avail; recourse must be had to the scalpel; and while the operation was in progress Austria looked on with keen though somewhat nervous attention. The Imperial policy of Francis Joseph is often said to be vacillating, though, in consideration of the opposing interests he must take into account, it would be truer to call it uncertain. No better example of this could be given than the attitude of His Majesty all through the Russo-Turkish war, when the German-



Austrians and Slavs were clearly inclined to Russia, while the Hungarians, claiming kindred even with the Ottomans, and remembering how Muscovite battalions had baulked their efforts for liberty in 1849, clamoured for intervention in favour of the Sultan. Guided, however, by the sagacious counsels of Count Andrassy, His Majesty maintained a firmly neutral attitude till the end; and when the war was over no one strove more strenuously to bring about a European Congress. The Powers assembled at Berlin were well aware that the best barrier to an aggressive Russia was an extended Austria, and what all men expected now happened. By the high Arcopagus Francis Joseph was commissioned with the occupation, military and administrative, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to restore order in those two provinces and prevent them from again becoming the hotbeds of anarchy and insurrection. On the 28th of July, therefore, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reciting their grievances, declaring his credentials, and promising them relief from all their woes. But the occupation was not the mere military promenade expected. The Austrian troops met with the most desperate resistance everywhere from the Mussulmans; the Porte could not be brought to conclude the necessary Convention, and the Emperor's troubles were further increased by the resignation of the Hungarian Cabinet, who refused to grant further supplies—in this but too faithfully reflecting the feelings of the Magyar nation, who had never looked with favour on the movement. Towards the end of autumn, however, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and the army, which had not enjoyed much public confidence since the disasters of 1866, now showed what progress it had been making under the re-organising care of the Emperor.

The reign of Francis Joseph has been a period of alternate struggle, disaster, and success for Austria; and though the ruling monarch must look back on many defeats, it would be rather coarse caricature to dub him *Schlacht-verlierer* (battle-loser), like his ancestor, Charles of Lorraine, or rank him with Joseph II., whose self-composed epitaph asserted that "he failed in everything he undertook." Inheriting to a certain extent, however, the foibles of these two sovereigns, Francis Joseph was further hampered by evident adhesion to the presumptuous policy of the Emperor Frederick III., enigmatically mottoed in the five vowels: *A(ustriae) E(st) I(mperare) O(rbi) U(niverso)*—i.e., the whole world shall be ruled by Austria. But the example of this universal sovereign ought to be a warning to those monarchs who think that the larger their dominions, the more secure they are. The most indulgent historians will hardly place the Emperor in the front intellectual rank. When any nation, however, has at last achieved something like a constitution, and when ministers are the virtual moulders of the people's destinies, it is, perhaps, better that the monarch should be a respectable mediocrity, free from blundering if wanting brilliancy. The most expected of him is that he shall be endowed with common sense and a sound, solid judgment, and that his prerogative and final vote shall be ever ready to sanction the measures of sagacious counsellors. But even in this respect it is not altogether clear that Francis Joseph completely answers to the idea of a model king after the modern type, though it must be owned that, as a ruler, his task is the most difficult conceivable. Austria, unlike most other nations, is not so much a country as a government, a throne supported by bayonets, a bundle of States held together by red tape. To harmonise so many conflicting interests, to weld into one contented body politic such various races and religionists, to be equally fair and indulgent to so many communities possessing such unequal marks of civilisation and such unequal capacity for civil liberty, is a labour from which a successful Viceroy of India even might well recoil with dread. In the Monarchy there are still protesting Czechs and malcontent Hungarians, recalcitrant Croats and seditious Poles. The

Parliamentary machine does not work without friction, the provincial assemblies are prone to grumble, and the abrogation of stringent Press laws would tend to make the House of Hapsburg much more popular than it really is; but, compared with what it was in 1848, the Empire may be said to be stable and prosperous, and the motto "*Viribus unitis*," which the youthful Emperor chose on ascending the throne, is in a fair way towards being realised. His life, like that of most European sovereigns, has been twice attempted—once at Vienna in 1853, and again at Prague in 1855; but the only wonder is that, in view of the discontented elements in his dominions, he has not more frequently been made the mark of the assassin.

The nearly obsolete spectacle of a king buckling on his armour and going forth to battle at the head of his people tends to reconcile disloyal mankind to the regal office, but though educated for the military career, Francis Joseph has, nevertheless, seen fit to entrust the management of most critical campaigns to such illustrious leaders as Radetzky, Benedek, and Philippovich. Still, though not so much of a soldier-sovereign as his Imperial brother of Germany, he, on the other hand, never imitated the example of those cautious warrior-kings who are content to watch the manœuvres and the massacre of their troops from the safe altitude of a wooden platform. With the ardent blood of youth still in his veins, he took part in the battle of Santa Lucia, near Verona, in 1848; assisted in the capture of Raab, in Hungary, the following year; and at Solferino he gave proof of bravery almost amounting to rashness. Invariably worsted in war, the Emperor-King has won copious laurels in the pursuits of peace. He has honestly striven to develop the industries and material resources of his Empire, while the drama, art, and literature must acknowledge him as a munificent patron. It was a praiseworthy interest in the progress of civilisation which led him, along with various other European potentates, as the guest of the Khedive, to witness the opening of the Suez Canal in November, 1869; and an adventurous curiosity carried him across to Palestine in the same year, when he visited Jerusalem under the protection of some Bedouin chiefs. Europe, too, is greatly indebted to him for having planned and achieved the Universal Exhibition of 1873, which made Vienna for a time the holiday resort of the world. It was opened by the Emperor in person on the 1st of May, and among the illustrious visitors who shared his hospitality during that memorable year were the Prince of Wales, the Czar, the Shah, the King of Italy, the Emperor and Empress of Germany—personages, said Francis Joseph, in opening the Reichsrath, whose visits had knit closer the bonds of friendship already existing between him and them, increasing the pledges of peace, and strengthening the influence of his Empire. If Francis Joseph has not always been penetrating enough to discern the signs of the times, and shape his policy accordingly, it must be owned that, having once been convinced by the logic of cannon, no one has shown a more cheerful tendency to look defeat in the face and reconcile himself to the inevitable. Revenge is not a prominent element of his nature; for how otherwise could he kiss the Imperial cheek of his conqueror at Königgrätz, and exchange decorations with his victors at Magenta, ere yet the blood of his slaughtered subjects had ceased to crimson the field of battle? Through the patriotism and the liberal concessions of the Emperor, Austria has made large strides towards becoming a free, a united, and a constitutional State, and has again achieved that influence at the council-board of nations of which weakness, consequent on internal disorder, had so long deprived her.

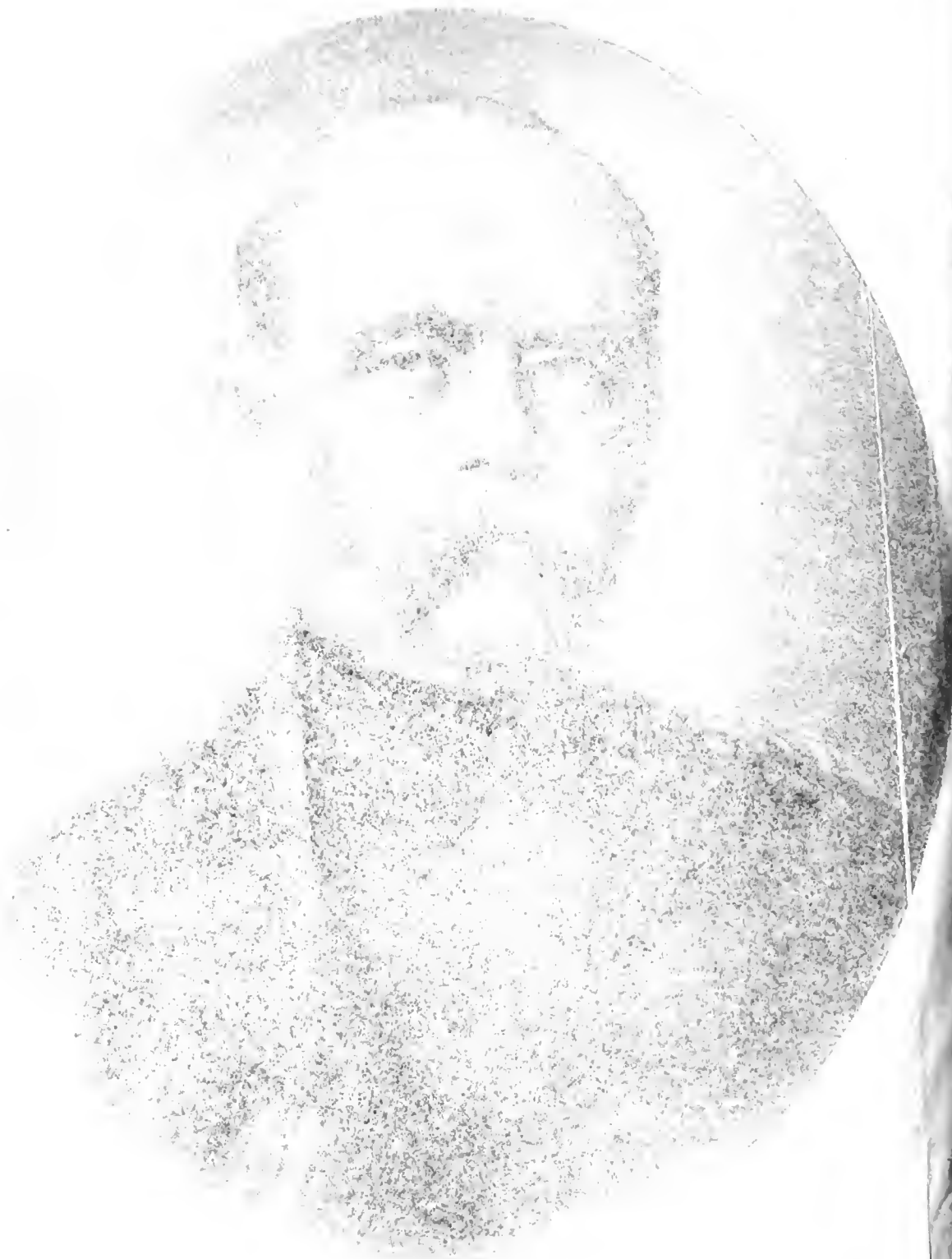




ED. & CARL N. 1111

PRINCE VON BISMARCK.





## PRINCE BISMARCK.

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A FIGURE suggesting thoughts of a mediæval fighting-man—of Sir William Wallace or Wallenstein; a huge body, weighing over seventeen stone, tall, erect, broad-shouldered, vigorous-limbed, inclosed in the uniform of a colonel of Prussian Cuirassiers, and surmounted by a heavy spiked helmet; a shortish, thick, tenacious neck, massive jaw, and heavy moustache, imparting a military appearance; a countenance full of dauntless courage and high resolve; bushy eyebrows beetling over a pair of grey eyes, looking as if they could behold the sun without blinking—eyes calculated to win fair women and wither up factious men; the complexion dull, and of a peculiar paleness, fixed there by sleepless nights and days of earking care; the head erect; a proud, uncompromising look; a human form not over-handsome to the eye, yet, once beheld, that can never be forgotten, full of force, and originality, and colossal will: such are the prominent characteristics which go to make up the outward bodily presence of the greatest public man in Europe—the inheritor of all that is heroic in these latter ages—the saviour of society by blood and iron: the dragon-diplomatist, Prince von Bismarck-Schönhausen, Chancellor of the German Empire.

About six weeks before the battle of Waterloo, when the “Corsican Robber,” lately escaped from Elba, was sitting in the Tuileries, sketching the outlines of a new campaign, there was born, far away north in the barren solitudes of Brandenburg, a male child, destined to build up again what the scourge of Europe had destroyed. The child’s name was Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck, and he saw the light at Schönhausen, on April the 1st, 1815. The Prince’s giant frame and manly instincts are derived from a long line of ancestors who were the Nimrods of the north; while from his mother, member of a Leipsic family of scholars, he inherited the comprehensive mind which enables him to master and expound the subtle relations of policy. At the age of six Bismarck was removed to Berlin, where he remained under the charge of Dr. Bonnel (of French Huguenot extraction) till 1832, when he was deemed sufficiently advanced to pass on to the University. To Göttingen, accordingly, Bismarck—now a tall, slim youth of seventeen—repaired. Here he went heart and soul into the spirit of the place. He led about a huge mastiff, he smoked a long pipe, he wore prodigious riding-boots, and invested in a rack of rapiers. He drank, he sang, he flirted, and he swore. He became the most dauntless dueller in the University, and came out victorious from a score of combats. In 1833 he matriculated at Berlin, but with no better result; nor did the friendship he now formed with a young American, named John Lothrop Motley, tend to imbue his mind with an early love of popular liberty. He attended the lectures of the celebrated Savigny thrice, but courage to return he could not muster up. Nevertheless, he succeeded in passing the terrible *Staatsexamen*, though no one ever exactly knew how, and, even long after he had defied Europe and dismembered the Danish monarchy, his enemies were perpetually questioning the great man’s right to do so, from its being doubtful

whether he had ever passed his Government examination! The next few years of his life were devoted to the acquisition of that practical acquaintance with law and business exacted of every one in training for diplomacy. But pleasure and travelling seem to have mostly taken up his time, and, for the rest, arrogance and insubordination were the qualities which then mainly distinguished him.

Having served his time in the army, and acquired that ardour for the service which still clings to him, and makes him proud to appear as often as possible in uniform, he and his brother were intrusted with the management of the family estates; and from 1839 to 1847 Bismarek led the life of a country gentleman. He attended the yeomanry, he travelled abroad, he went to balls and fashionable watering-places; he fretted himself for lack of means, and was mightily taken up with night frosts, sick cattle, bad roads, floods, fodder, and failing crops. He enjoyed a splendid appetite, however, and "slept like a badger." He was regarded by all the district as mad. His pranks, his daring feats of horsemanship, his wilfulness, and his wassailings were the talk and the terror of the neighbourhood. He quaffed great cups of mingled champagne and porter. He woke up his guests in the morning by firing off pistols close to their pillows; and he terrified his lady friends by turning foxes into the drawing-room. But he varied his occupation. The Berlin booksellers kept him well abreast of the literature of the day. History continued to be his favourite reading, and at times he would shut himself up in his study, and devour all kinds of intellectual fodder.

The throne of Prussia at this time was occupied by Frederick William IV., a monarch who firmly believed in his divine right to rule, who was resolved to transmit intact to his successor the rights and dignity of the Crown, and who, when asked for a Constitution, swore he would never suffer a written sheet of paper to force itself in between the Lord God in heaven and his people. But though he would not enter into a written compact with his subjects, the revolutionary events of the time constrained him to grant them something like representative government; and by the famous Constitution of 1847 the various provincial Diets of Prussia were authorised to meet at Berlin in a united Diet as often as the exigencies of the kingdom required it.

Previous to his marriage, Bismarek had been chosen as Knight's Deputy in the Jerichow circle for the Saxon Provincial Diet of Merseburg, and in this capacity he came to Berlin to attend the first united Diet, which met in April, 1847. This was his first appearance as an actor in the great political drama of which we have not yet seen the end. By birth and breeding he was a King's Man. The Bismarek family, of ancient lineage, was of the *Junker* rank—something, that is, between our knight and squire. The term is used to express the false pride and conservatism of the landed nobility. Inheriting thus the caste feelings of his ancestors, and little open to the new influences of his time, there is little wonder that Bismarek became *plus royaliste que le roi*—the Strafford of Frederick William IV. His first speech in the United Diet was in opposition to those who still clamoured for a "chartered Constitution." He was hissed down, but he was not discomfited. From his pocket he drew out a newspaper, which he calmly perused until the storm had abated. In subsequent sittings of the Chamber he battled boldly for the principle contained in the Stuart maxim, "*A Deo rex: a rege lex*," and attracted the grateful attention of his Sovereign. He sneered at the so-called "majesty of the people;" saw nothing in the movement of the time but a lust for theft; swore that all large cities, as being the hot-beds of revolution, should be swept from the earth; and was the uncompromising champion of divine right. Possessing such opinions as these, it was no wonder that when the revolution of March broke out he moodily held aloof from all concessions, though the King himself was carried away by the popular enthusiasm; and



when, in April of that year, the Diet met for the purpose of transferring its functions to a Constituent Assembly, he only accepted the address in answer to the Royal Decree of Proposition for the sole reason that he was unable to do otherwise. "The Prussian Crown," he said, "must not be forced into the powerless position of the English Crown, which appears more like an elegant ornament on the apex of the edifice of the State; in ours I recognise the supporting pillar." All attempts, moreover, to procure his adhesion to a scheme for uniting Prussia with the other German States were in vain. The democratic sovereignty which had been offered the King by the Frankfort Parliament he thus rejected:—"The Frankfort Crown may be very brilliant, but the gold which would give truth to its brilliancy could only be gained by melting down the Prussian Crown, and I have no confidence that it could be successfully re-cast in the mould of that Constitution." Events ripened gradually. A rupture between Prussia and Austria, as the dominant member of the Bund, could only be avoided by the Treaty of Olmütz, by which they both agreed, if need be, to suppress a rising in the Elbe Duchies; and Bismarck even went the length of saying that Prussia should subordinate herself to Austria, that they might together crush German democracy. But his veneration for Austria was soon to be cured. His services to the Crown having procured him the post of Prussian representative at the Diet, he had not been long in Frankfort when the scales began to fall from his eyes. He found the Bund a hotbed of chicanery, hypocrisy, and intrigue; while Austria, flushed with her Olmütz victory, took no pains to hide her hatred of her great rival. "Prussia," Prince Schwarzenberg declared, "must first be abased, and then abolished." Bismarck, however, determined that it should be all the other way. The result of his eight years' experience at Frankfort was to convince him that there was "a vice in our Federal relations which, sooner or later, must be extirpated *ferro et igne*." Behold the first rough draft of that celebrated scheme of policy with which the name of Bismarck will be associated in history. "It is not by speech-making," he said, again, "that you will unite Germany; to cement this union what is wanted is blood and iron." On the appointment of the present Emperor to the Regency in 1858, one of his first acts was to dismiss the Manteuffel Ministry, and remove Bismarck to the post of Ambassador in St. Petersburg, or, as he himself expressed it, "put him in ice." William, who had not yet become thoroughly reconciled to his future Minister, was afraid he might precipitate a struggle. On the banks of the Neva, though fretting himself at being so far away from the arena of strife, he eagerly endeavoured to find favour with the Russians, who were charmed by the curious spectacle of a diplomatist railing at his own Government, abusing the "Periwigs of Potsdam," and aspersing the "Philistines of the Spree."

But though no longer "before the enemy" in Frankfort, his hostility to Austria continued, and when the Italian war broke out in 1859 he did everything in his power to prevent Prussia sending troops to help her Federal ally. The consequence was that Austria, smarting from the wounds received at Magenta and Solferino, attributed her defeat to Prussia, and the latter, therefore, saw herself compelled to follow out at all hazards her own independent development, or become the humble dependent of the House of Hapsburg. In 1861 Bismarck had met the King at Baden-Baden, and unfolded his views. Internal difficulties and Parliamentary conflicts had combined to impel His Majesty to form energetic resolutions, but a vigorous will was wanted to carry them out. There was only one man equal to the emergency, and at his coronation in October, 1862, he communicated his design to Bismarck. But Bismarck's training for office was scarcely yet complete, and, at his own desire, he was sent as Ambassador to Paris, where he wished once more to take the measure of a man on whom it was then universally believed depended the destinies of Europe. He found Napoleon "the embodiment of misunderstood incapacity," and Napoleon

thought him mad. After a few months spent in France, he returned to Berlin (September, 1862). Bismarck's history for the next eight years is the history of the re-unification of the Empire.

Hitherto the German States had presented the spectacle of a fleet of vessels tossing about without sailing tactics on a stormy sea, in momentary danger of all being dashed together and destroyed. But now the biggest of the number fell into the hands of a helmsman able to steer his own craft clear of the confusion and lead the others after him in fair and orderly array. His accession to office was received with a storm of abuse; he was called the *coup d'état* Minister. But his mind was made up. Leaving internal affairs to take care of themselves, he set himself to the task of deposing Austria from her place of pride. The partial mobilisation of the troops during the Italian war had revealed certain grave defects in the military system, but the strenuous exertions of Von Moltke and Von Roon had gradually brought it to a pitch of splendid perfection. Had the nation itself been with Bismarck, his task would have been comparatively easy; but he was perpetually quarrelling with the Opposition over the Budget and the Royal prerogative. He was accused of maintaining that might is right; and for the next four years political life in Prussia was a continual conflict, reminding one of the Stuart struggle with the English Parliament. The Chamber was twice angrily dissolved, but nothing could induce confidence in a policy which prudence forbade him entirely to disclose. No sooner was Bismarck at the head of foreign affairs than he gave Austria clearly to understand what she had to expect of him. The latter proposed a Congress for the settlement of differences, but that would not suit the purposes of Bismarck. Prussia must become great and mighty. An opportunity soon offered. The Danish difficulty cropped up (it is needless here to be detailed), and Prussia proposed to Austria a joint occupation of the Elbe Duchies in the interest of both countries against the spirit of revolution. Both placed armies in the field. The Danes were finally crushed at Düppel, and by the Treaty of Vienna the Duchies were ceded to Austria and Prussia: the former, by the Convention of Gastein, holding Holstein, while Prussia occupied Schleswig and Lauenburg. Displeased, however, with the administration of Holstein, Bismarck, now a Count, expostulated sharply with Austria, who, seeing whither things were tending, began to look about for allies. Bismarck now appealed to the Diet, and demanded a national Parliament, based on universal suffrage, for the re-organisation of the Federal Constitution; but the Bund ordered the mobilisation of three army corps against Prussia, who, having unavailingly summoned the aid of some of the minor States, immediately declared war. The result may be shortly stated. At Langensalza the entire Hanoverian army was captured; the Bavarians were defeated in several engagements; Darmstadt, Frankfort, and Hesse-Cassel were occupied, and the Elector of the latter sent a prisoner to Stettin. Finally, after the short but brilliant "Seven Days' War," the Prussian needle-gun destroyed the Austrian army at Sadowa and procured the Treaty of Prague, by which Francis Joseph recognised the dissolution of the Bund, and consented to a new formation of Germany, in which Austria should take no part, ceding, moreover, all his rights to the Duchies. Italy, too, who had previously concluded a secret treaty with Prussia and sent an army into the field, received Venetia. By the war Prussia actually gained Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, and Lauenburg, part of Hesse-Darmstadt, the free city of Frankfort, and the Principality of Hohenzollern. Hated and despised on his accession to power, Bismarck now became the idol of the people. He hastened to conciliate the Diet, and demanded a Budget indemnity. Previously averse from unity, on the ground that the particular interests of Prussia would thereby suffer, he no longer opposed the national feeling now that Austria was out of the way, and that he saw his own beloved country certain to take the lead. After much negotiation, therefore, Bismarck had the satisfaction of

achieving the North German Confederation, under which twenty-one States formed themselves into a perpetual union, under the presidency of Prussia, with a common Constitution and Assembly. Bismarck himself became Chancellor of the new body, which met for the first time on September 16th, 1867. Still, the southern States were not yet admitted into the League, though for the purposes of commerce the Zollverein did much to unite the whole. When M. Rouher, too, boasted to the French Assembly that the Treaty of Prague had divided Germany into three, Europe was rather surprised when Bismarck published treaties by which Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden agreed, in the event of foreign war, to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia; and an opportunity for keeping their word soon came. France had become jealous of Prussia's rising power. Even on the 5th of August, 1866, after the Austrian campaign, the French Ambassador handed Bismarck a secret demand for the restoration of the boundaries of 1814, and the "Man of Destiny" was probably mortified when Prussia's concession in the matter of Luxembourg destroyed all immediate cause of quarrel. But a *casus belli* soon cropped up in the candidature of a Hohenzollern for the crown of Spain; and who does not remember the thrilling events of those stupendous days? The meeting at Ems, the declaration of war, the mustering of the armies, "the baptism of fire"—Weissenburg, Wörth, Spichern, Strasburg, Metz, Sedan, Paris, Versailles—where, on the 18th of January, 1871, in the Great Hall of Louis XIV., amid a splendid throng of princes and a bower of gorgeous banners, Bismarck (soon himself to be made a Prince) read aloud the Proclamation of the newly-made Emperor of a united German Fatherland!

Chancellor of the Empire and Prime Minister of Prussia, Bismarck was now at the very summit of power, and men felt that if a Hohenzollern King was called the ruler of Germany, it was a mere courtesy title. Scarcely had the strong man, born to battle, risen triumphant from his death-wrestle with France than he looked eagerly around for another foe, and that was soon found. Brought about by causes which had operated from without, the unification of Germany was now in danger of being undone by influences directly at work within. The lately-propounded dogma of Papal Infallibility had found zealous supporters in the German bishops, who, in Church matters, aimed at subordinating the civil to ecclesiastical authority; in addition to which, the Vatican, exasperated by the successive defeat of Catholic Austria and France by Protestant Prussia, was firmly resolved that the latter Power must be abased. Hence arose the so-called *Culturkampf*—a fresh outbreak of the same old struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, the spiritual and the temporal powers, as made Hildebrand excommunicate Henry IV., and force him, like a bare-footed beggar, to whine for pardon and for peace. "But we," quoth Bismarck, "will never go to Canossa." Thus that desperate encounter with the Church, which has not yet ended, was commenced, in 1871, by the enactment of a law, at the instance of the Prince, for the repression of seditious language in the pulpit. This was followed, next year, by a measure for the expulsion of the Jesuits, which the Prince carried through the German Parliament with the cordial aid of a large majority; and, by a Prussian Bill, the control of primary education was transferred from the clergy of both Churches to the State authorities. In the Reichstag, too, he again struck at the chief promoters of sedition; and the following year beheld the Ultramontanes writhing under a still heavier weight of restrictions. The Prussian Parliament passed a Bill prohibiting the appointment of parish priests without the previous sanction of the Government, and requiring clerical students to pass through a course of instruction in the national universities. The fractious opposition of the bishops continuing, Bismarck introduced a Bill for the transfer of registration from the clergy of all denominations to the civil servants of the State: a measure intended to make the validity of marriages

depend exclusively on the celebration of the civil ceremony, and decreeing that baptism should no longer be regarded as an indispensable condition of the exercise of some civil functions. The Pope addressed to the Emperor a letter of expostulation, but the only reply was that the Catholic Hierarchy in Germany were guilty of insubordination to the State. Stroke after stroke fell pitilessly upon the heads of the Ultramontanes. The new ecclesiastical laws were enforced with rigour, certain bishops were fined and imprisoned, and priests were even arrested in their churches. Meanwhile, the toils and excitement of the struggle had shaken the Prince's health; and, having gone to Kissingen to take the waters, a repetition of the dastardly attempt on his life by Julius Cohen, at Berlin, in 1866, was made by Edward Kullman, a Catholic fanatic, who wounded him in the wrist with a revolver. The Ultramontane press, however, strenuously disavowed all sympathy with the crime; and the joy of the people at the Chancellor's escape proved beyond a doubt their acquiescence in his vigorous enterprises. But does Bismarck, like Macbeth, doubt and falter? Is he not only afraid to go on, but does he desire to recede? His interview with the Papal Nuncio at Gastein in the autumn of 1878 led men to say that for the sake of party purposes he was willing to undo the work of the past, and shake himself free of the recalcitrant Liberals by conciliating the Catholics; but of this there can be no doubt, that the peace and prosperity of the Empire must greatly depend on the establishment of a *modus vivendi* with the Vatican.

The next notable incident in the Prince's career was the arrest and relentless prosecution, at his instance, of Count Arnim, previously Ambassador at Paris, on the charge of having embezzled documents of various kinds; and in the progress of the case the publication of some of the Prince's correspondence on French affairs proved more interesting than the litigation itself. The Prince, some said, was influenced by personal pique, and an unworthy desire to get rid of a rival, while calmer judges of human motives contended that he was induced to act as he did by the purest patriotism.

On the 1st of April, 1877—his birthday—the Prince answered the felicitations of his Sovereign by a petition for permission to withdraw, and the world perplexed itself with questionings as to his true motive; but in a few days men's minds were tranquillised by his consenting to remain in office. Well, perhaps, was it for the peace of Europe that he did so. The attitude of Bismarck to the Eastern Question is too recent to need much recapitulation. For the first time in his life he seemed to be for peace at any price; and when the war of 1877 actually did break out, no Minister did more than he to localise the struggle. Unwilling to offend Russia, he wished to remain friendly to Austria, and he would not draw the sword for any but German interests. Germany, moreover, had no interests, except the pacific rivalry of trade, which could bring her in opposition to England. No sooner, again, did Austria propose a Conference for the settlement of difficulties than the Chancellor readily pledged the attendance of Germany, provided that, if the high assembly met on German soil, it should have a German President; and when formal questions between the Powers threatened after all to frustrate the work of peace, it was the unflagging zeal and mediatorial activity of the Prince which alone triumphed over all obstacles, and finally brought the signatories of the Treaty of Paris together in the Radziwill Palace. How he, as President of the Congress, performed his task, with what persevering tact he reconciled conflicting interests and removed dead-locks, and with what a firm but sympathetic hand he repressed the reckless eagerness of minor States, securing thus the peace of Europe—all these things are still fresh in the grateful memory of man. But during the sitting of the Congress the President's thoughts were not entirely taken up with the task of averting a general

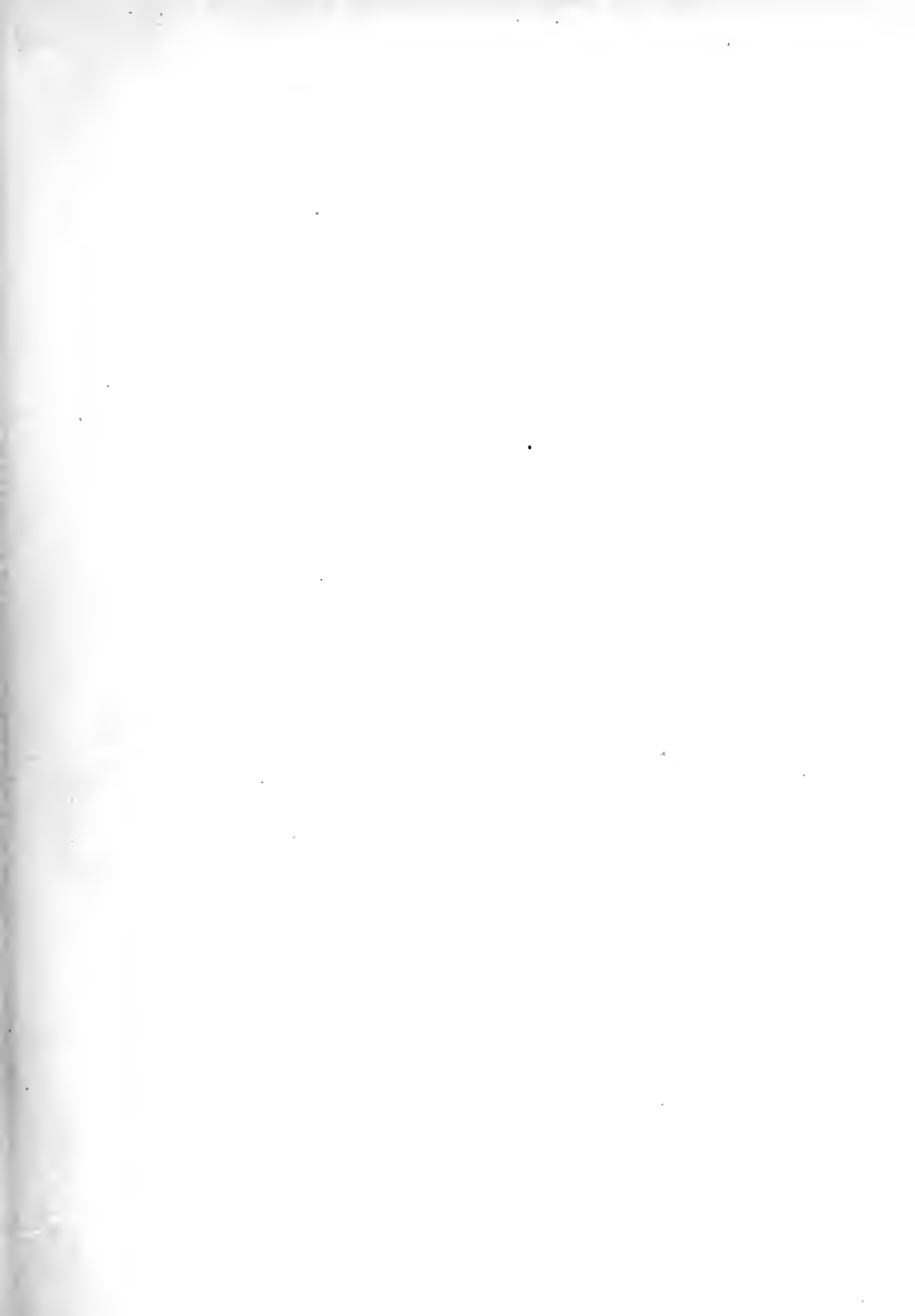
European war. It is not given to this man to deal with one difficulty at a time. His Imperial master was lying on a sick-bed, slowly recovering from wounds inflicted by the bullet of a Socialist assassin. The crime of Vera Zassoulitch in Russia, of Hödel and Nobiling in Germany, had forcibly recalled the attention of Bismarck to the existence of a disorganised but deadly foe of the State, in the persons of the Social Democrats. Regarding these theorists in the light of Thugs and bandits determined to overthrow all existing order and carry out their nefarious designs in defiance of all Divine and human law, he resolved relentlessly to crush them in their very infancy. Deeming that no compassion should be shown to those who possessed so little pity themselves, he introduced into the Reichstag a Bill of a very repressive nature, which could only extirpate Socialism at the risk of seriously abridging civil liberty, and Parliament, proving rather averse from such coercive legislation, was angrily dissolved. The new elections, however, proved more favourable to the Chancellor's policy, and in the autumn, after some angry debating, a Bill was passed which may possibly achieve the end in view, but which cannot fail at the same time to introduce one more element of discontent into a country already galled by stringent Church, Press, and Army laws.

Space would fail us to trace the entire and sinuous length of the mighty river; we must be content to have committed its devious devolutions to the map by taking its bearings from a succession of commanding altitudes. The Prince has a frame of iron; and though the labours of a long public life have left their mark upon him, compelling him to seek frequent relief from the cares of office, he still goes through an amount of business which would crush the spirit out of half a dozen ordinary men. Of his physical powers illustrations are rife; cool and audacious in the midst of danger, he was the boldest hunter and the best rider in all Brandenburg, and many of his most telling similes are taken from the chase. A powerful swimmer, he once threw himself into a river and rescued his groom from drowning, a feat which procured him the Humane Society's medal, which he still wears on his breast when the proudest orders of Christendom conferred upon him, and numbering more than half a hundred, are laid aside. It is related, too, how at Königgrätz he was thirteen hours in the saddle without food, and how after the battle, wearied with the toils and excitement of the day, he threw himself down to sleep on a hard village pavement, with a carriage cushion for a pillow. It will be remembered, also, how when, during the Berlin Congress, Prince Gortchakoff one evening visited the German Chancellor, a favourite mastiff of the latter rushed at the aged man, and might have finished him but that its master with Herculean strength tore it from its prostrate prey. The virtues and the defects of the Chancellor have the same root. While the consciousness of vast physical power has infused itself into his will, and enabled him to dare and to do so much, it cannot be denied that his occasional arrogance and masterful manner may be partly accounted for by the fact of his possessing brawny arms and colossal thigh-bones. Feeling himself physically the superior of all men, he has a tendency to meet the shafts of logic with the lunge of a rapier, and to achieve his end by rudeness when he might have gained it by reason. It is related, for example, how, in 1850, chancing to be in a Berlin beer-saloon, and overhearing an excited politician railing at a member of the royal family, he snatched up his tankard and felled the foul-mouthed demagogue. His enemies accuse him of having introduced into the Reichstag the overweening manners of the Bursche; but of this there can be little doubt, that, however well fitted to advise his Sovereign in secret, he is but little qualified to guide or gain over a Parliament. His fiery Hotspur spirit can ill brook the shifts, the patient tact, and the political strategy essential to a successful Parliamentary leader.

Among the labours of this Hercules, history will give a prominent place to his having cleansed

the Augean stables of diplomacy—a word which, etymologically, has much in it to support the meaning often given it of “double-dealing.” Previous to the era of Bismarck, intercourse between diplomatists was of such a nature as almost to justify the *mot* that “language was given to man to conceal his thoughts.” But he had the courage to inaugurate a new era, and contrived to give truth itself all the political virtues of falsehood. Like Cromwell, too, the Prince has a deeply religious spirit, and when alone or confronted with nature his speculations often run in a groove recalling the melancholy and the metaphysics of Hamlet. He is witty and colloquial, possessing the art—rare in his countrymen—of terse and epigrammatic expression; and many of his pithy sayings are interwoven in the page of history. Though the most practical of men, he is gifted with a rich fancy and a happy power of metaphor; and though no orator, in the strict sense of the word, his rugged strength of speech and terrible earnestness never fail to command the attention, if not the applause, of listening senates. No man of his time has been a more restless and inquiring traveller. Without being professorial, he is profoundly acquainted with history; and there are few European languages in which he cannot make himself fluently understood. Nor does the Prince possess the hard, inhuman heart many of his detractors would make out. A tender husband and an affectionate father, the poisoned dart of slander, which has sought to pierce every chink in his armour, could never yet find an entrance through any flaw in his domestic relations. Keenly alive, moreover, to the influences of nature, nothing delights him so much as to escape from the capital to the solitude of his country seat. The share he took in suppressing the Polish insurrection, and the secret treaty said to have been concluded between him and M. Benedetti, after the war of 1866, with respect to Belgium, may furnish matter against him for a charge of public dishonesty; but no one has ever yet accused him of seeking to promote his own private ends at the expense of his country. The friend of Austria, and then her mortal foe; the champion of absolutism, and afterwards the advocate of universal suffrage; the partisan of particularism, and then the promoter of union: the Prince has been charged with capricious shiftiness; but it would be unjust, as he himself once argued, to expect consistency of opinion from him during a quarter of a century. As a Minister, he must have learned to subordinate his own opinion to the needs of the State; and who so enlightened as he who is always open to conviction? Accused of crushing Germany under a military despotism, and converting Europe into a bristling camp, he pleads that it would be folly to disband his myriad legions till the results they have achieved shall have been conserved. At first a Prussian Junker, and now a German Prince; once detested by his countrymen, and now adored; the destroyer of one Empire, and the maker of another; the foe of revolution, and the rock on which the Papacy has split: Bismarck towers above all his contemporaries, and will go down to future times as the incarnation of patriotic virtue and giant force of will.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph published by Messrs. Loescher & Petsch, Berlin, and F. Gerson, 5, Rathbone Place, London, W.]*







From a painting by A. Ador.

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MIDHAT PASHA.



## MIDHAT PASHA

— 1888 —

**STATESMANSHIP** Asiatics, that act as a phenomenon. By the general rule, and in sense, and the able and figure in this century?

Descended from a class styled Pomaks, who religion in order to attain devoted adherents of the hundred years maintained. Notwithstanding the long races composing the people day are as distinct as conquerors, who having and never think of which are claimed by which the tides of of this as Bulgars gained strength of two years has

Midhat was a child in the year 1822, and, as all the nobles of the Higher ranks of Turkey have followed the life of a soldier. His father, a distinguished officer of the Ottoman army, was his first tutor. There also no doubt those ideas of glory and honour which so great an influence on his career and have mainly guided him. The impressions by the hands through which Turkey had passed and which tinged the whole character of the nation. Midhat at a very early age took a great interest in the events of the time and developed a remarkable strength of character. The massacre of the Janissaries, and the despotic measures adopted by the Sultan and Pasha, fired the young Midhat with a desire to bring about a reformation of the constitution, which he saw was bringing ruin on his country. He devoted himself with assiduity to his studies, and his progress was so rapid that he obtained an appointment to the Bureau of Administration while only twelve years of age. When appointed to the office he continued his studies, and was instructed by some of the most eminent of the day. Late Osman Pasha, he had for fellow-pupils men who subsequently attained high and noble positions. Amongst them, Delgi and Pacha Pasha were the most remarkable.



## MIDHAT PASHA.

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STATESMANSHIP of a high order, according to European ideas, is so rare a quality amongst Asiatics, that whenever one of that race possesses it to any extent it is looked on almost as a phenomenon. The subject of the present memoir is one of those brilliant exceptions to the general rule, and the qualities of Midhat Pasha, from their excellence in a truly diplomatic sense, and the able manner in which they have been exercised, make him a most prominent figure in this century's history of the Ottoman Empire.

Descended from a long line of influential landowners in Bulgaria, Midhat is one of that class styled Pomaks, who, on the Turks occupying the country, embraced the Mohamedan religion in order to retain their lands, and have by time and union of faith become the most devoted adherents of the empire. The Turks, occupying the position of conquerors, have for five hundred years maintained that attitude towards the Christian Slavs, whom they subdued in 1391. Notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since Bulgaria came under Turkish rule, the races composing the population have never amalgamated, and the Turks and Slavs of the present day are as distinct as ever. This is, without doubt, owing to the policy pursued by Mohamedan conquerors, who having won their position by virtue of the sword, maintain it by the same means, and never think of according to their subjects who differ in faith the same protection and privileges which are claimed by themselves. This is apparent in the histories of all those countries over which the tides of Moslem invasion have passed. None, however, afford so strong an example of this as Bulgaria and her neighbours, and the enmity which remained hidden for so long gained strength during its period of, one might almost say, incubation, and the fierce warfare of late years has been the result.

Midhat was born in Constantinople in the year 1822, and, like all members of the higher ranks of Turks, was to have followed the life of a soldier. His father, a distinguished member of the Ottoman magistracy, was his first tutor. From him he imbibed those ideas of reform which have exercised so great an influence on his career and have mainly guided his actions. Impressed by the troubles through which Turkey had passed, and which tinged the whole character of the nation, Midhat at a very early age took a great interest in the events of the time, and developed a remarkable strength of character. The massacre of the Janissaries, and the despotic measures adopted by the Sultan and Pashas, fired the young Midhat with a desire to bring about some alteration in the constitution, which he saw was bringing ruin on his country. He devoted himself with great energy to his studies, and his progress was so rapid that he obtained an appointment as copyist in the Bureau de l'Administration while only twelve years of age. While occupied in this work he continued his studies, and was instructed by some of the most learned men of the day. Like Osman Pasha, he had for fellow-pupils men who subsequently attained honourable positions. Amongst them, Defget and Davish Pashas were the most remarkable.

Before his death, the Sultan Mahmoud II. had inaugurated many reforms which benefited his country, and his successors continued the work. The famous Hatti Sherif of Gul Khané was promulgated by this sovereign, and Midhat had thus an early opportunity for seeing the working of beneficial changes in the administration, so far as the general public was concerned. But those who under the old constitution were paramount, seeing their power on the decline, set themselves against the reforms, and banded together to destroy their effect. To the teachings of the Sheik-ul-Islam Asaf Bek may be traced much of the matured character of Midhat, especially that portion which worked for internal reform, but was antagonistic to external pressure and supervision. Having full confidence in the capacity of his countrymen, and their ability to adopt any modern and civilised improvements, he saw that the only thing required was to secure for them a just administration, and to this end his life has been devoted.

Midhat, notwithstanding his youth, had assisted in all the changes of the time, and his abilities were so conspicuous that in 1841, when he had reached the age of nineteen years, he was appointed Secretary to Faik Effendi, Finance Minister. He accompanied his chief to Syria, and remained there for three years, participating in the serious work which was carried on. By a peculiar coincidence his first appointment outside the capital carried him to a district which was destined to be the place where he was sent after an unjust exile—a stepping-stone once more to Imperial favour. After leaving Syria he returned to Constantinople, and again took up his position in the Bureau, but not for long, as he was soon entrusted with some important functions in the provinces.

In consequence of the alteration in the system of administration, all the outlying pashalics were immediately under and in communication with the central Government, and all appeals were directed to be made to Constantinople to be decided by the Grand Council of Justice. Midhat twice had charge of local secretariats under the Council—first at Konieh, and secondly at Costamouni. No positions could give him a greater insight into the working of the administration than these, and he was enabled to perceive what the shortcomings in the system were. He performed his duties in such an able manner, evincing such high views and clearness of judgment, that the Grand Vizier at once interested himself in his behalf. Rushid Pasha, who at that time occupied that post, was a man ever on the alert to obtain the services of men of ability for the State. He perceived the great qualifications of Midhat, and, calling him to the capital, nominated him as chief of the Bureau of Reports. The labours entailed on Midhat were very onerous, as they included a supervision of the reports from every branch of the service. The confidence placed in him was fully justified, and his management of the Bureau obtained for him further recognition in the appointment of second secretary to the Grand Council. This body, though in name a supreme court of appeal invested with great powers, was limited in its action by that partiality which ever exercises a baneful influence on all Turkish institutions. It wanted the independence of British courts, and family relationship always had great weight in the decisions arrived at. It can easily be seen that Midhat's position as a simple secretary was surrounded by difficulties. His duty often involved the performance of things quite antagonistic to his sense of justice. He was compelled to abstain from bringing his own impressions prominently forward, for had he done so the jealousy of his superiors would have found a means for curtailing for ever his sphere of action. As it was, notwithstanding his great tact, his promotion was too rapid, and, in the usual order of events, he lost his appointment. He had made many enemies, and their machinations brought about this result. Not content, however, with depriving him of his post, the conspirators, as they may be termed, succeeded

in having him despatched on what they considered an expedition which it was impossible for him to bring to a successful issue. This was the suppression of brigandage which had broken out in Roumelia, owing to the Crimean War, which was raging at that time. Although this mission was simply a snare, Midhat was equal to the task. He saw the condition of things at a glance. In Roumelia the brigands were composed of two entirely different sets—the one who robbed for robbery's sake, and the other who pillaged for a livelihood. In the case of the first set, composed of natives of the country, he employed severe repressive measures, and carried them out with energy and promptitude; while with regard to the second class, Circassian refugees from Russian oppression (co-religionists of the Turks, who while seeking a refuge offered their services), he suppressed them also with a strong hand, but at the same time took steps to establish them in the country of their adoption. This he did, knowing that they had been led to plunder and rapine through destitution. Punishing with severity the ringleaders, he collected the rest into camps, supplied them with the necessaries of life, agricultural implements, and land, and so transformed them into an agricultural population, adding thereby to the strength of the Government, and introducing a powerful counter-influence against native malcontents in the district. This success astonished and confounded his enemies; they could no longer prevent his advancement. The Government, as a recognition of his services, gave him a seat at the Grand Council, with corresponding rank. At that time most of the allied troops of England and France were collected in Constantinople. It was necessary to supply them with billets, commissariat, and the means of transport, besides attendance for the sick and wounded. A great deal of trouble ensued. Matters were referred to the Grand Council, and owing to the action of Midhat the apparently insurmountable difficulties were cleared away, and the most efficient services were rendered. The commanders of the allied forces joined in thanks to Midhat, but for whose instrumentality much inconvenience would have been caused.

Soon another opportunity occurred for the exercise of his abilities. A young Bulgarian female named Nédrella was found murdered. Rumour traced the crime to the Pasha commanding at Varna, who, it was said, had ordered her death. Popular indignation, fomented by secret enemies of Turkey, rose to a great height. The principality was on the verge of revolt, and repressive measures were adopted by the Governments of Silistria and Widdin. Brigandage became the order of the day, and the country was fast becoming the scene of constant acts of recrimination. In this crisis Midhat was despatched to restore matters to their abnormal condition. On his arrival he at once set to work to close the Servia-Bulgarian frontier, convinced that the trouble had come from the neighbouring principality. His surmises proved correct, for on the erection of guard-houses, occupied by regular troops, along the border the brigands disappeared as if by enchantment. Having put an end to the attacks of these robbers, he proceeded to investigate the causes of the revolt. He released some five hundred peasantry, who had been arrested by the authorities, as they were only the tools of their chiefs. He seized at Widdin two hundred headmen, principally judges and village chiefs, and from them obtained the plan of the insurrection which was really their aim. The ringleaders he despatched to Constantinople, but sent the others back to their homes with the understanding that he would hold them responsible for any future acts of violence in their respective villages. Here was the strongest evidence of administrative capacity. With Eastern nations there is a peculiar feature, that headmen are able in almost every case to preserve order. The lower classes are led absolutely by the chiefs of the villages, and any pressure on

the latter has an effect on the whole district. This is exemplified in those countries where European rule has been introduced. Wherever this plan has been adopted, perfect quiet prevails, but in the absence of such measures frequent troubles take place.

The history of Midhat's life, and the success which attended his administration of the provinces of the Turkish Empire, might teach a lesson to our own officials in their connection with Eastern peoples. Especially is this so in our possessions in the Eastern Archipelago, where, owing to an abandoning of the system of local headmen, troubles prevail to an inordinate extent. Of European nations none have been so successful as the Dutch, who in Java have adopted a policy almost identical with that of Midhat. They instituted a complete system of headmen for each of the nationalities under their rule, and the Malay Punglhus and Captain Chinamen have conduced to the peaceful condition of the Netherlands Indian possessions. The reverse is the case in the British Colonies of the Straits Settlements. In these, secret societies are in the ascendent. Antagonism to the Government is a common feature of their actions. Pursuing the erroneous idea that civilised laws in their entirety are suited for uncivilised nations, British rule has not met with as much success as might have been; for although the Union Jack invariably collects and improves commerce, and under British rule life and property are well secured, yet this fault in the administration militates against that prosperity which should succeed the introduction of civilisation. In this matter Russia has taken a leaf out of the book of good Eastern rulers, and the proceedings of the Government officials in Turkestan have proved the value of the policy. The advance of Russia in the East, and the consolidation of her power towards India, is owing in no small measure to the plan of adopting national customs so far as they are compatible with modern civilisation. The Muscovite officers understand the necessity of this, and while fomenting the hatred of races in countries not under their rule, they are careful to promote intercourse between the various nationalities whom they govern. On the one hand causing dissension by continuing this antagonism, while on the other they consolidate their own power by abolishing it.

The prompt and energetic action of Midhat in Bulgaria quelled the conspiracy, and in an incredibly short space of time complete order was restored, and he returned once more to Constantinople.

After accomplishing the object for which he had been sent to Roumelia, Midhat made a tour of the European capitals, and during a sojourn of some years in them occupied his time in making himself master of the various institutions which tend to make up the power of Western nations. The liberal constitutions which came under his notice impressed him to such an extent that he laid down a regular scheme for their introduction into Turkey, and it was not long before he had an opportunity for carrying his ideas into effect. He studied carefully the various organisations, and formulated a scheme in which the shortcomings of the Turkish rule were clearly laid open. His period of leave was occupied by more work than his terms of office, and a journey undertaken for rest was occupied in a careful and scientific elaboration of a new constitution for his country. On his return he was made first Secretary of the Grand Council, and occupied the post for three years, when he received the titles of Vizier and Pasha, and was sent as Governor to Nish in 1860. On assuming office, he discovered that the province had been much neglected, and at once set to work to improve its condition, directing his attention to the subject of internal communication. Well acquainted with the means at hand for accomplishing this, he made strict investigation as to whether the right to call all the able-bodied men out for State work had been exercised. It was discovered that nothing had been done for some years. So

Midhat at once issued a proclamation that the right would be enforced, and ordered one portion out at once. These men he set to work on road-making, and at the end of the regulation period of thirty days proceeded to view the result. In his opinion, the labourers who had so long been free from the requisition had slurred over their work, and in consequence he directed them to continue for other thirty days. Resistance was out of the question. The men finding a master over them commenced in earnest, and, when the time was up, what they had accomplished was sufficient to have pleased the severest taskmaster alive. The news of this spread abroad, each levy strove hard to keep up to the standard of its successful predecessor, so that in the end the villayet of the Danube in a very short period stood in the first rank for means of travelling. By his energetic measures he improved his district, and gained a hold on the people, who are ever ready to respect a ruler who keeps them well in hand. Amongst other matters to which he turned his attention, the most prominent was that of improving the moral and social condition of the people. To attain this it was necessary to institute a proper system for the administration of justice. He clearly defined the duties of the various officers, and issued instructions as to the *modus operandi* in all the local courts. He promoted the introduction of the Christian element into the administrative councils, which he made permanent. Establishments were re-modelled. Government departments were reserved to one class, while the municipal duties were attached to the elders of the various towns to whom all such matters were entrusted. Many abuses were remedied, and the collection of taxes was duly regulated under strict supervision. One of his attempts at reform, however, did not terminate favourably. Amongst the European institutions he had seen, orphanages struck Midhat as worthy of being copied, so he next set about forming an establishment of the kind. A building was speedily erected, and an efficient staff of officials organised. When all was ready zealous officers were sent to secure inmates. The country was scoured from one end to the other, but no orphans were forthcoming. Midhat was in despair. At last a Zaptieh appeared leading a ragged urchin, whom he had discovered by the roadside. The diminutive personage was received in a befitting manner. Midhat arrived post-haste to see that the establishment fulfilled his mission. Everything went perfectly smoothly, and there was great rejoicing. For a few days all was peace and quietness; but one morning a venerable Turk arrived at the orphanage and demanded his grandson, who had, he alleged, been kidnapped. The orphan was produced, and flew at once to the arms of his natural protector, to whom, of course, he was given up. The aged Mohamedan made a representation to the Porte, when his enemies, glad of an opportunity to censure him, obtained an adverse verdict, and Midhat's zeal received a check, and the orphanage collapsed.

This *contretemps* did not efface the determination to reform Turkey. But, as it was a task not easy to accomplish, Midhat laid himself out to gain additional strength by party support. The Young Turkey section of politicians afforded the best sphere for action, and to it he consequently allied himself. The success of Midhat in the administration of Nish brought him further into notice, and the measures he had adopted were eventually so much approved of that it was decided to apply them to the whole of the empire. In consequence of this resolution, he was recalled to Constantinople, where the Sultan received him with honour. In private audience he laid his plans before his Sovereign, and detailed his views. He proved the many advantages which would accrue to the empire by a judicious assimilation of races. He strongly advocated the granting of religious freedom, and, overcoming the bigotry which is inherent to the Mohamedan faith, succeeded in bringing the Sultan over to his side. The



flourishing condition to which he had brought Nish and the neighbourhood added weight to his arguments, and he was complimented on all sides. As the favourite of the hour his words were as law, and the Sultan decided to follow his plans. He was directed, in conjunction with Fuad and Ali Pashas, to prepare a new code of laws, and at once set about the task. In the meetings which were held the opinions of Midhat prevailed, his strength of mind overcame the obstacles placed in his way by his coadjutors, and the "Villayet Law" which was drawn up may be taken as his entirely. The principal features of this new act of reform were that it divided the principalities into well-defined districts, in each of which regular courts were to be established for the trial of criminal, civil, and commercial cases. Each court had distinct powers, so that there was no admixture of jurisdiction. A higher court of appeal was formed in the capital, and, above all, a non-Mussulman element was introduced into the courts. When the statute was drawn up it was decided to apply its provisions to the villayet of the Danube, composed of the pashalics of Nish, Widdin, and Silistria, and Midhat was despatched to carry them out. When he arrived, it was only to find a chaos in every branch of the administration. The reforms ordered by the Government had never been brought about, and the principality was wanting in everything which appertains to a civilised administration. His absence had been a severe check to the progress he had inaugurated, and things even where he had reformed them were again fast lapsing into a state of semi-barbarism. In three years a complete transformation took place. Roads were made, bridges were erected, and three schools of art were formed at Rustchuk, Nish, and Sophia. The revenue was raised from £T.1,500,000 to £T.1,870,000. His energy was catching, and all the officials partook of his zeal. The capital of the villayet, Rustchuk, received particular attention, and was embellished with public gardens, theatres, and quays, so that it was completely Europeanised. These innovations, it is needless to say, caused a great deal of jealousy. Malcontents raised a revolt. But in Midhat they had to deal with a man of unusual energy and decision. His prompt action in a very short time crushed the rebellion and restored order. Fuad Pasha took the opportunity afforded him by the remarkable progress made by this one able man to point out to Europe the capability of Turkey to reform herself, and that there was no necessity for foreign interference. This argument became the strong point of resistance to external pressure, and so long as Fuad remained in power things went on well enough. But owing to intrigues in the Palace, a change took place in the Ministry, Fuad Pasha fell, and Midhat, seeing the struggle which was about to commence, allied himself to the Young Turkey section of politicians. He calmed their violence, and by his judicious yet firm demeanour gave his party that strength which they otherwise would have lacked. Based on sound political principles, the aim of this party was to insure for the people a share in the administration. To raise them from the position of slaves to that of free men, and to expunge that element of favouritism which has been the stumbling-block in Turkey to all progress, Midhat amongst these agitators soon took a prominent place in consequence of his powerful reasoning and his oratorical abilities. Becoming very popular amongst the members of this party, he was soon elected its leader, and in due course he was recalled to Constantinople, and received the appointment of President of the Council of State, with the organisation of which he was entrusted. Shortly after his appointment another rebellion broke out in Bulgaria, and once more, as the only man fit to deal with the affair, Midhat was sent to the scene; as in similar cases, he very soon restored order. At that time the Ottoman Empire passed through a severe crisis. The Vizier, Mehemet Rushid, together with the members of his Cabinet, planned and carried out the deposition of the then reigning Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, whose



successor, Murad, was placed on the throne. This latter sovereign was in his turn deposed, having shown signs of madness, and the present ruler, Hamid, took his place.

After the lapse of a year, during which he occupied the position of President, Midhat accepted the post of Governor of Bagdad. Here, again, the same energy brought the same results as in the villayet of the Danube. The country became changed. Tramways were introduced in the capital, a school of art was formed, and railways projected. He reduced rebellious Arabs to obedience, and entirely restored the power of Turkey amongst a turbulent race. Possessing still the nomadic proclivities which have become a by-word, the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, although staunch followers of Mohamed, have a great antipathy to organised rule. As the Prophet was one of themselves, they arrogate a superiority which rebels against restraint, and are averse to even the sovereignty of the recognised head of the Mohamedan faith. But Midhat was too much for them. They could not resist his power, both physical and mental, and the result of his successful engagements and diplomatic negotiations was that the most powerful of the chiefs went personally to Constantinople, and rendered homage to the Sultan, by whom he was made a Pasha. While Midhat was in Bagdad, a serious revolt was organised. He was at dinner when the news was brought. Maintaining a calm bearing, he gave orders for the despatch of troops to the various quarters, and summoned the headmen. On their arrival he quietly told them that unless the place was quiet in two hours he would burn the city and take them all to Constantinople. At the same time he gave orders for steam to be got up on board the steamers on the Tigris. His menace had its effect. The chiefs saw he was in earnest, and bowing to a superior will, soon settled matters. Soon after, the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, died, and Mohamed Nedim succeeded to the office. On this event taking place, a retrograde movement commenced. Nedim was one of the old school. In his eyes the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, and the Sheik-ul-Islam constituted the State, and any innovations met with his entire disapproval. Turkey was not to be reformed. The ancient *régime* was sufficient. Russian intrigue saw a chance for getting rid of Midhat, whose reforms worked against the machinations of the Czar's advisers. The result was that, in 1871, through the jealousy of Nedim Pasha, Grand Vizier, Midhat was dismissed from his post and ordered into exile. Before proceeding to the place appointed as his abode he returned to Constantinople, sought an interview with the Sultan, and in firm language justified his own acts, and condemned those of his enemies as destructive to the empire. His words were so effective, that the Sultan revoked the order of exile, and appointed him Grand Vizier! But his fall was as rapid almost as his exaltation. In three months he was again dismissed, and remained some time without office. Subsequently, for a few months he governed Salonica, but returned to Constantinople, and remained there till 1875, when he was made Minister of Justice. In consequence of the re-installment of Nedim in the office of Grand Vizier, Midhat resigned.

In addition to these internal troubles, outward disturbances darkened the political atmosphere, and the discontented Slav populations under Ottoman rule appealed to Europe for protection. In response to repeated suggestions from Russia, the Christian nations of Europe took up the question, and pressure was brought to bear on the Porte, with the view of obtaining concessions for the tributary and now rebellious States. Early in 1876 Midhat published a scheme of administrative reform, and on the 19th of December of that year was again raised to the high office of Grand Vizier. He then promulgated the new Turkish Constitution, and the comprehensiveness of his proposed measures gained for him much praise. One of the main features of the scheme was, that he undertook on behalf of Turkey

radical alterations in the administration of its affairs, at the same time strongly dissenting from any foreign interference. An assembly was to be constituted for the consideration of all State matters, something like a Parliament. The administration of justice was to be assured, and many of the abuses of misrule were to be wiped away. The Conference of Constantinople which met was resisted by Turkey, and this resistance was solely due to the influence of Midhat Pasha, who had gained the popular vote. The organisation of Turkey, faulty in the extreme, and despotic, like all Mohamedan countries, did not permit of such power in the hands of a Minister, and intrigues brought about the downfall of Midhat, who was dismissed from his office and banished on the 5th of February, 1877.

From that time up to the end of August, 1878, he remained in exile, but the events which overwhelmed Turkey brought about his recall, and he was appointed Governor of Syria, where he now is.

The career of Midhat has been a round of activity. For more than forty years he has served his country faithfully, and the services he has rendered to it cannot easily be estimated. All his actions have been marked by patriotism in its highest sense, and had it not been for the jealousy of rivals, and the influence they brought to bear against him, he would at the present moment be holding the highest rank in Turkey. His abilities are of the highest order. His administrative faculties have been amply proved. These, with his liberal views on vexed religious questions, mark him as almost the only man by whom the Ottoman Empire can be re-constituted so as to ensure its permanent progress.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Adèle, Vienna.]*





From a photograph. by M. Szekely, Vienna

CASELL, PETTER & GALPIN, LITH.

COUNT ANDRASSY

## COUNT ANDRÁSSY

IT is the tradition of the Count's family, and many of his contemporaries, that he was a man of the steel and the sword. His life was a life of the destinies of this country, and he was a man of free and constitutional principles. He was a man of the Commonwealth and an Englishman. The manner of the Count is a manner of the diplomatist to give instances in history where where the determined course of the statesman; and not than in Julius Andrássy, the Count is referred to as inaccurate. In such a case, the Count declined to adopt the view, and he saw in it something incompatible with the position of Hungary; but, long before the position of Chancellor and Minister of the Interior.

Gyula Andrássy de Csikszentmiklós and Kézdivásárhely, born on the 28th of March, 1823, at Zenta, is a nobleman, illustrious in Hungary. His father, the first, was the light of the same district, was a nobleman for having been the father of some of the greatest revolutionists. The Count's mother, the Countess of Count Charles Andrássy, displayed the utmost zeal and energy in the scientific and industrial progress of his country, dying at Győr in 1871. The Count, belonging to the illustrious house of Szapáry, was descended from the now extinct, and one of the most powerful race of Drághó of Hungary, as an Hungarian diplomatist, the Count's influence in their country was Young Andrássy, whose education began at home, and the Count's travels travelling through Europe, and the Count's influence in their country was reform he was in charge of the On the death of his father, the Count was still a very young man, to the President of the Ministry for Regulating the Count's early career thus curiously resembling that of his great contemporary, Prince Bismarck, who



## COUNT ANDRASSY.

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IT is the peculiarity of Continental nations that many of their leading statesmen are soldiers, and many of their soldiers statesmen. In England the case is different: the scarlet tunic or the steel cuirass very rarely peeping from beneath the robes of office. It is true the political destinies of this country, at particular periods, have been guided by the glaivèd hand; but in free and constitutional England the people have always looked with suspicion on Protectors like Cromwell and on Premiers like the Duke of Wellington. With such men the imperious manner of the camp is all too apt to betray itself in the council-chamber, and the caution of the diplomatist to give way to the masterful impetuosity of the dragoon. But there are instances in history where the man of thought and the man of action are equally united, where the determined courage of the warrior is beautifully blended with the sagacious pliancy of the statesman; and no better example of such a rare combination of qualities could be found than in Julius Andrassy (pronounced *Andráshee*), Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sometimes the Count is referred to as Chancellor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but the designation is inaccurate. In succeeding Count Beust, who bore the title of Reichs-Kanzler, Count Andrassy declined to adopt it, out of regard for the scruples of his Hungarian fellow-countrymen, who might see in it something to remind them of the former centralist and absolute *régime*, and deem it incompatible with the dualist constitution created by the compromise of 1867. The Count, therefore, will only allow himself to be called Common Minister of Foreign Affairs for Austria-Hungary; but, being head and President of the Common Ministry, he in reality enjoys the position of Chancellor and Prime Minister of the Empire.

Gyula Andrassy de Csik-Szent Kírály and Kraszna-Horka—to give him his full title—was born on the 28th of March, 1823, at Zemplin, his family being one of the oldest and most illustrious in Hungary. Kossuth, too, first saw the light, about twenty years previously, in the same district, which is remarkable for having been the birthplace or the scene of action of some of the greatest Hungarian revolutionists. The Austrian Minister is the second son of Count Charles Andrassy, who displayed the utmost zeal and activity in promoting the scientific and industrial progress of his country, dying at Brussels in 1845. His mother, belonging to the old and illustrious house of Szápáry, was descended on the maternal side from the now extinct male line of the once powerful race of Drugeth de Homonay; that race which, as an Hungarian historian puts it, “had a mighty influence on their country’s weal and woe.” Young Andrassy, whose education was begun at home, received the utmost possible benefit in travelling through various parts of Europe, accompanied by his father, in whose schemes of industrial reform he was an eager coadjutor. On the death of his accomplished parent, he succeeded, while still a very young man, to the Presidency of the Society for Regulating the Course of the Theiss: his early career thus curiously resembling that of his great contemporary, Prince Bismarck, who,

as District Inspector of Dykes when a young country squire, devoted himself to damming in the Elbe. But though thus to some accidental extent similar, the characters and subsequent careers of the two Chancellors were very different. The Prussian Junker was the sworn foe of Democracy; the Hungarian Hussar became the triumphant champion of Revolution. The former created an Empire, the latter, to a certain extent, undid one; and the earlier history of Count Andrassy is the history of how Home Rule was achieved for Hungary.

Created originally towards the close of the ninth century to protect the Empire against the invading tendencies of the Magyars, who had founded a kingdom on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss, the *East-mark*, or *Öst-reich*, gradually asserted supremacy over the Turanian settlers, till towards the middle of the sixteenth century the Crown of Hungary passed to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria; and ever since then the monarchy of St. Stephen, curiously enough, has formed part of the archducal dominions of the House of Hapsburg. The Hungarians, however, though continuing to enjoy certain constitutional privileges, could never become thoroughly reconciled to the sway of Austria, and though contented at times, when seized with the *moriamur-pro-rege-nostro* enthusiasm, they could never altogether cease hankering after Home Rule. Uprisings in their history are rife, nor were they unaffected by the great wave of revolution which passed over Europe in 1848. Scarcely had news of the Paris explosion reached Pesth when the Magyar mine was fired. Headed by Kossuth, the Hungarians stood up for their ancient constitution with certain reforms, nor would they acknowledge Francis Joseph, who succeeded Ferdinand in Austria, because the act of abdication by which he claimed the throne was unlawful according to the laws of Hungary. The Pragmatic Sanction, they declared, was the fundamental political contract regulating the succession to their throne which the Hungarians in 1723 concluded with the King of Hungary, the ancestor of the present reigning family, and by this the Hungarians gave the female line of the Hapsburgs the right to rule over them, on the express condition only of their swearing solemnly to govern according to the existing laws of the country, or according to the laws that might in future be made. The Emperor Joseph II., who was never crowned in Hungary, governed that kingdom absolutely, but its inhabitants never recognised him as their lawful sovereign. Maria Theresa was the first "king" who, in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, ascended the throne of Hungary, and she faithfully fulfilled all the conditions of that contract. Leopold II., the second Hungarian king, who succeeded on the death of Joseph II., took the usual coronation oath and signed an inaugural diploma, besides sanctioning the laws of 1790, which guaranteed to Hungary all her ancient rights and privileges. Francis I., again, began his reign by guaranteeing the maintenance of the rights, liberties, and laws of the nation, while Ferdinand V. (the abdicating Emperor Ferdinand I. of Austria) gave similar guarantees at the beginning of his reign, and sanctioned the laws of 1848. By the Pragmatic Sanction the Hungarians were united in the "person" of the sovereign, but there was no trace in their laws, they maintained, of a "real" union between the two countries, and a "real" union was what Francis Joseph desired to accomplish.

Into the revolutionary movement, therefore, which convulsed the dominions of Austria during the years 1848-49, Count Julius Andrassy, then an ardent young man of about twenty-five, flung himself heart and soul. But though young, he was not without political and military experience. Sent so early as 1844 to represent Zemplin in the Diet, Lord-Lieutenant (Obergespan) of his county, and commander of the Honveds of his district, he had distinguished himself in all these capacities, proving himself to be a brilliant speaker and a well-informed writer. Not content, moreover, with using the weapon of debate, he seized the sword, and in 1849



led a force of his countrymen against Vienna. But though the Hungarians fought bravely and gained several victories, their strength was weakened by divided counsels, and what the Austrians could not alone achieve, the Russians, foes of all revolution, stepped in to accomplish. When the national government, directed by Kossuth, withdrew from Pesth to Debreczin, Count Andrassy, a dashing soldier, but more valuable as a diplomatist, was sent on a political mission to Constantinople; and while there news reached him of the catastrophe of Vilagos and the end of the insurrection. To the fact of his absence at Stamboul he probably owed his life. Under the Austrian General Haynau a second reign of terror ensued in Hungary, and all the military and political leaders of the Revolution were shot, hanged, or flung into prison. Count Andrassy himself was condemned to death and executed in effigy; but the Turks, ethnically akin to the Magyars, refused to extradite the refugees at the risk of involving themselves in a war. For the next eight years young Andrassy wandered about the world as an outlaw and an exile, residing chiefly in France and England, where he made the acquaintance of the leaders of politics and society, carefully studied the constitutions of these two countries, and learned how to achieve by patience and argument what he had failed to bring about by force. Profiting by an amnesty, he returned home in 1857, and the war in Italy having dealt a death-blow to absolutism and opened up to the Hungarians the prospect of recovering their liberties, Count Andrassy once more entered political life. He had refused to hold office under the Austrian Government as administrator of Zemplin, but in 1860 he was returned to the Diet as member for that county, and appointed Vice-President. The friend and fellow-worker of the famous patriot, Francis Déak, he now began to take a prominent part in that memorable struggle by legal means which lasted seven years, and which resulted in the establishment of the kingdom of St. Stephen and in the compromise of 1867. In May, 1861, the Diet met to consider whether they should demand the restoration of the laws of 1848 by an address to the Crown or by a revolution. Francis Déak, leading the Moderates, and powerfully supported by Count Andrassy, argued in favour of the former course as being more likely to insure them success. "In former times," he said, "the disputes between the sovereign and the Hungarian nation arose from two parties giving different interpretations to the laws, the validity of which was recognised by both. At present the Austrian Government is trying to force Hungary to accept a Constitution as a boon in lieu of those fundamental laws to which she is so warmly attached. On the side of Hungary are right and justice, on the other side is physical force. During the last twelve years we have suffered grievous wrongs. The Constitution which we inherited from our forefathers was taken from us; we were governed in an absolute way, and patriotism was considered a crime. Suddenly his Majesty resolved to 'enter the path of constitutionalism,' and the Diploma of the 20th October, 1860, appeared. That document encroaches on our constitutional independence, inasmuch as it transfers to a foreign assembly (the Reichsrath) the right to grant the supplies of money and men, and makes the Hungarian Government dependent on the Austrian, which is not responsible for its acts. If Hungary accepted the October diploma she would cease to be herself—she would be an Austrian province. We must, therefore, solemnly declare that we insist on the restoration of our constitutional independence and self-government, which we consider the fundamental principle of our national existence. We can on no account allow the right to vote the supplies of men and money to be taken from us. We will not make laws for other countries, and will share our right to legislate for Hungary with no one but the king. We will neither send deputies to the Reichsrath, nor take any share in the representation of the Empire." Count Andrassy spoke still more resolutely in defence of his country's independence. The nationalities

of the Empire, he said, must choose between centralisation and federation. Centralisation and absolutism would necessarily go hand in hand. If the principle of duality were recognised, he argued, and Austria had a free constitution, a union between the Empire and Hungary might easily be effected. The position of Austria, however, as a great Power would be better secured by the principle of duality than by that of unity; and the Hungarians, he declared, would continue to insist on the restoration of the laws of 1848. Francis Déak, the venerable Nestor of the Hungarian nation—who inspired it and directed its counsels, but who would never accept power himself—discerned in Count Andrassy the man of action best fitted to carry out his plans. Left to the Parliaments of Pesth and Vienna, the conflict might continue any length of time. To bring about a speedy and favourable issue there was need of a diplomatist, an able negotiator, a man knowing how to deal with the Court and political leaders at Vienna, how to convince them, and how to gain them over. Count Andrassy was singularly well adapted to the task. Gifted with a clear and penetrating mind, a lively fancy, great persuasive power, and possessing in the highest degree the charms of personal fascination, he managed to conquer the heart and confidence of Francis Joseph; he succeeded in conciliating the good graces of the Empress Elizabeth, who became transformed into a real Hungarian; and he contrived, so to speak, to disarm the Archduke Albert himself and the other high personages of the Court and the army. In short, he achieved a work of high diplomacy in rendering acceptable to the Government of Vienna the basis of the compromise which was afterwards discussed and adopted in all its details by the two Parliaments of Austria and Hungary. He was thus, with Déak, the restorer of the kingdom of St. Stephen and of the Hungarian Constitution, and with Count Beust the creator of the dualist organisation of the monarchy. On the 24th of February, 1867, Count Andrassy announced to the Diet his appointment as President of the Ministry, submitting, at the same time, a list of his colleagues. It was a proud moment for these patriotic statesmen who, without passion or violence, had achieved Home Rule for Hungary, and restored it to its old place in the Austrian state-system. On the 8th June the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph with the Crown of St. Stephen at Pesth symbolised the final reconciliation with his Magyar subjects. Hungary then started afresh on the path of political life, with a representation of the people based on the most liberal law of election; a ministry dependent on parliamentary control; a constitution with the highest guarantees and the solemn oath of her sovereign to preserve it; the undivided rule of her native government over the entire territory of the Crown of St. Stephen; the fullest measure of religious freedom; an unlimited amnesty, and an army of her own.

Free now to pursue the path of internal reform, Count Andrassy set himself to the task with energy. Prominent among his acts was the conclusion of a loan of a hundred millions, destined to the construction of railways, and the bringing in of a Bill bestowing civil and political equality to all Jews in the kingdom—a measure which was received with the utmost enthusiasm. In the spring of 1873 the Count obtained the Emperor's consent to introduce a Bill, taking the election of members of the Reichsrath out of the hands of the Provincial Diets and transferring it to the body of the electors in the several provinces, thus substituting direct for indirect representation; and this measure was hailed with great satisfaction, as giving the Empire real independence and establishing the Government on a broader and more solid basis. For the period of nearly five years, however, during which Count Andrassy was President of the Hungarian Ministry, he was more of the diplomatist than the administrator. Leaving the cares of internal administration to his colleagues, he busied himself chiefly with creating and assuring for Hungary an honourable position abroad, aiming to

place her in all respects on a footing of equality with Austria, and realising the principle of parity between the two halves of the monarchy which is the basis of their dualism. In a word, he converted Hungary into a veritable kingdom, with a Court and all the administrative machinery of a Power possessing 16,000,000 inhabitants. He freely gave whatever influence the constitution lent him as President of the Hungarian Council to Count Beust in support of all his foreign policy, and, along with the latter, attended the interview at Salzbouurg between Napoleon III. and Francis Joseph. He also accompanied the Emperor, with his Chancellor, to the Paris Exhibition of 1867. He took an active part in the diplomatic action occasioned by the Franco-German War, and again in the negotiations which led to the Black Sea Conference at London, in 1871. Grateful to Prussia, however, for the share she had contributed towards facilitating the compromise of 1867, he had been the constant advocate of an alliance with Germany ever since his accession to office. In the eyes of Count Andrassy, Austria—now become Austria-Hungary—had nothing to look for either in Germany or in Italy, but should thenceforth rather turn her political thoughts to the East. Possessing such opinions, therefore, it was no wonder that on the dismissal of Count Beust from the control of foreign affairs, in November, 1871, Count Andrassy was pressingly invited to become his substitute, and promote that reconciliation with Germany which had now become a political necessity. His departure, in November, 1871, from Pesth was the subject of very wide and deep regret in Hungary. Installed on the Ballplatz at Vienna, a circular dispatch from his pen announced his intention to adhere in most respects to the line of policy pursued by his predecessor. Corresponding to the newly-acquired sense of peace within the monarchy was the friendly attitude of the other Powers. The Prussian Press Bureau received special directions from the Chancellor to hail the appointment of the new Austrian Minister as the pledge of lasting amity between the two Empires, and to assure Count Andrassy of full confidence in the highest circles of Berlin. Count Beust, it is true, had partly prepared public feeling for the transfer of Austrian sympathy from France to victorious Prussia, though this he did with a smile in one eye and a tear in the other; and it was Count Andrassy more than any other man who, recognising and accepting accomplished facts, strove to heal the wounds inflicted by the war of 1866. In reconciling the two Empires, however, he had a very difficult task. Court and military influences and clerical intrigue had all to be overcome; but the will of the Foreign Minister, acting on the good sense of Francis Joseph, ultimately prevailed, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the final triumph of his policy in the meeting of the three Emperors at Berlin, in September, 1872. Next year the German Emperor received an equally enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants of Vienna, and Count Andrassy had then the gratification of seeing his work of reconciliation completed.

What, however, has chiefly engaged the attention of the Count since his accession to office is the Eastern Question. The monarchy had an especial interest in the settlement of this long-standing difficulty. On the principle that a man must be anxious for the safety of his own dwelling when the house of his neighbour is in flames, Austria felt that the peace and tranquillity of her own heterogeneous races were jeopardised by the perpetually recurring revolts and uprisings in those countries under the sway of the Porte conterminous to her. Count Andrassy soon became convinced that the time was fast approaching when the sick man must undergo a crucial surgical operation. On assuming the portfolio of foreign affairs, therefore, he felt it was necessary above all things to rectify the error of his predecessor, and adopt a clearly defined attitude to Turkey on the one hand and to Russia on the other. In achieving this he was firm and unprejudiced. Though heart and soul a Magyar, and remembering the events of

1848-49, he now completely abandoned the national stand-point, and gave the Hungarians a conspicuous example of self-denial by honestly shaking the proffered hand of Russia. Prince Gortschakoff, with equal candour, returned the confidence which was extended to him. Soon after the Berlin meeting, therefore, the official press announced that Austria would no longer unconditionally support the tottering Turkish fabric. She had given up her traditional policy in the East, and would not continue to be the prop and protection of effete and semi-barbarous states, though, at the same time, she had no desire to precipitate the catastrophe. These were the maxims which guided his Eastern policy, and events soon ripened which called for a further development of his plans. The Turkish Government had declared itself insolvent in the autumn of 1875. Insurrection still smouldered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Servia and Montenegro, and the three Emperors, previously united by the bond of an ostensibly cordial alliance, deemed themselves called upon to tender to the Porte a scheme of administrative reform calculated to pacify the insurgents. The task of drawing up the project being intrusted to the Austrian Chancellor, the latter, early in 1876, prepared a Note, which was ultimately approved by all the Powers and formally accepted by the Sultan, though no beneficial effect was thereby produced on the state of the Ottoman provinces. Then followed further troubles in Turkey: the Berlin Memorandum, the Constantinople Conference, the London Protocol, the declaration of war, the victories of Russia, and the final assembling of the Berlin Congress, originally convoked and clung to through all the difficulties in its way by Count Andrassy. How he, moreover, conspicuous among the plenipotentiaries by his gay uniform, acquitted himself at the council board must still be fresh in the memory of Europe. No one was more patient, more flexible, yet firm, more eager for peace. When a deadlock arose between Russia and England on the subject of Bulgaria, it was he who, foreseeing the inevitable consequences of the difference, hastened to Prince Bismarck and implored him to use his mediatorial influence between the disputants. The Count had conceived and guided the course of his policy in such a way as not to compromise it before the assembling of the Powers. Pledged to observe a strict neutrality, provided the interests of the monarchy were not affected, he had remained unmoved by the clamours of his Magyar countrymen for intervention in favour of Turkey; and it was only in imitation of England that he asked and finally obtained a vote of £6,000,000 to make ready for all emergencies in the event of Russia seriously interfering with the welfare of Austria. Feeling that her interests were on the same side as those of England, the Count's attitude was in a great measure harmonised with that of Lord Beaconsfield, and the other Powers were gained over by mutual concessions to a scheme which all had foreseen from the beginning. Thus it was that Austria was intrusted with the occupation of these two provinces; thus was she commissioned by Europe to re-establish order in those conterminous parts of Turkey wherein she had a primary interest, and prevent them from forming centres of disturbance in the future, as they had done in the past. Whether, however, Austria will restore these broken vessels, when mended, to their proper owner, or whether she will apply the *beatè possidentes* principle alluded to by Bismarck with respect to the Russians at Stamboul, time can only show; but the determined opposition met with by the imperial troops on crossing the Save showed that a far more difficult task had been undertaken than was dreamt of.

"Count Andrassy," said a correspondent of the *Times*, who had frequent opportunities of observing him at Berlin, "is a kind of accentuated Lord Beaconsfield. The English minister has an oriental imagination tempered by the practice of liberty; the Austrian minister has an imagination still more pronounced: he has about him, as it were, something of the wandering

racés of Hungary, who do not dare to reveal their ardent dreams even to themselves. The physiognomy of the Hungarian minister is a faithful reflection of this peculiar cast of his mind. The sharp, deep lines of his head, his bright and restless eye, his vigorous chin, his nervous gait, and the vivacity of his expression, all indicate an irresistible will at the service of a fertile and indefatigable imagination. He is, at the same time, a man of great suppleness and patience, something like one of those Zingari hunters who, not daring to fire a gun for fear of the echo, watch for whole days to throw the lasso round the neck of the wild horse they have determined to capture." Count Andrassy, too, presents several sharp points of contrast with his colleague, Prince Bismarck. The German Chancellor would never have patience to display the deferential regard for everything and every one expected of the Austrian minister; and though the former may sometimes justify a breach of parliamentary rules by the success which attends his measures, the latter has an undoubted advantage over his somewhat Straffordian friend. Whereas Bismarck was only late in life converted to parliamentary ways, Andrassy is an old and experienced debater, accustomed from his earliest youth to the methods and discipline of representative assemblies, and deriving strength from the fact of his having been born and educated in a country which, even in the most trying times, could never be brought to altogether abandon the principle of publicity and the free interchange of opinion. In quick-wittedness and readiness in reply the Count is unquestionably superior to Bismarck; and if his speeches are not so finished, so elaborately detailed, and so ornate as those of his predecessor in office, still, his candour and unadorned statement procure him far greater success than attended the oratorical efforts of Count Beust, who would not shrink from Machiavellian means, and who had a tendency to deceive himself and others as to the danger and gravity of a situation. The good relations between Austria and Germany may be guessed from the friendliness existing between the two Chancellors. In the course of a debate on the Eastern Question in the Reichstag, on the 19th of February, 1878, Bismarck said he had much pleasure in regarding himself as the personal friend of Count Andrassy. "He is," he said, "as sure of my telling him the truth as I am of his telling me the truth. I confess that in former years I did not believe a word of what he told me, and regarded his every asseveration as so much moonshine; but all is changed now, and any attempt to make us suspect each other's designs will be fruitless."

Count Andrassy is the genius of caution and of compromise. Member of an ardent and impulsive race, he has nevertheless learned to act with impartial coolness and judgment, and to rise superior to the passions of mere party interests. Hungarian by race, he is nevertheless Austrian in politics; and though a Roman Catholic in religion, he has shown that he is not blind to the relations which ought to exist between Church and State. With many statesmen patriotism is merely another name for national prejudice; but though a fervent lover of his country, Count Andrassy is not blind to its defects, and those who clamour so loudly for autonomy to Ireland would do well to study carefully how Home Rule has been achieved for Hungary. Without being a Fabius Cunctator, he is, on the other hand, not a headlong Curtius cavalier; and though possessed of an inflexible will, he has the knack of achieving his purpose without ruffling the sensibilities of his opponents—one of those persuasive men, indeed, who, in asking a favour, seem but to confer one. Prince Bismarck's method is to wrathfully storm a fortress offhand, and put the garrison to the sword; but the light Hungarian Hussar prefers to acquire the citadel by starving its holders out, and letting them go without their arms. Louis Philippe was called the modern Ulysses, but the term might be more fitly applied to

the present Prime Minister of Francis Joseph. Long an exile and a wanderer in strange lands, patient, subtle, insinuating, eloquent, and equal to the most critical emergencies, no one has a greater claim to be regarded as the rival in fame of the much-enduring hero of Ithaca. What Cavour did for an united Italy, and Bismarck for a confederated Germany, Count Andrassy has achieved for Austria; and he will take rank in history with the Kingmakers and the Peacemakers. Trusted and admired abroad, he is the favourite of all at home, and though, strictly speaking, a foreigner in Vienna, he is subject to none of the reproach with which the alien birth of his predecessor, Count Beust, was frequently assailed. The Emperor has repeatedly conferred on his faithful minister marks of especial favour, and all political parties respect though they may differ from him in some particulars of policy, knowing that, though once foremost in the Revolution, he is now Federal to the heart, mild as a partisan, but mighty as a patriot.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Dr. Székely, Vienna.]*







From a photograph by M. Adolphe Paris

CASELL, PETTER & GALPIN, LIT.

PRESIDENT HAYES



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## RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

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RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, President of the United States of America, is a descendant of New England Puritans, and their force of character has been reproduced in him. The first of the family who emigrated to America was one George Hayes, a Scotchman, and he settled at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1682. His son Daniel was captured by the Indians and kept in captivity for five years, but was eventually ransomed by act of the Colonial Assembly, which appropriated—so the record runs—£7 to be paid out of the public treasury for the purpose. Ezekiel, a scythe maker, the son of Daniel, removed to New Haven, where the first Rutherford was born. This Rutherford Hayes, the grandfather of the present President, was first a blacksmith, then a farmer and innkeeper, and attained to considerable local celebrity. He was the father of eleven children, the fifth of whom, another Rutherford, removed to Delaware, Ohio, and followed the occupation of a farmer and merchant. Prior to his removal he married Sophia Birchard, of Wellington, Vermont, whose ancestors had emigrated from England in 1635. After the lapse of five years Rutherford Hayes died from typhoid fever, leaving his widow with two children, Lorenzo and Fanny. Some three months after his death a son was born on the 4th October, 1822, and received the names of "Rutherford Birchard," the latter after his maternal uncle, Sardis Birchard, who became the guardian of the children. Lorenzo was accidentally drowned in 1825, so that only two children survived. The name of "Hayes" is connected with valor; for one of the first of the family whose deeds are recorded was a husbandman who, with his two sons, successfully stayed an onslaught of the Danes at Lincarty, Perthshire. It is historically noted that, on seeing his countrymen retreat, he called to his sons, who were at work with him in the field, and said to them, "Pull your plow and harrow to pieces, and fight." With this timely succour the Danes were beaten, and lands were granted to the "sturdy plowman" for his bravery.

Delaware, the birthplace of President Hayes, is the centre of Ohio. It is situated twenty-five miles north-west of Columbus, and has a population of about 8,000 inhabitants. It is a brick town, and well built, and is famous for a Methodist University and white sulphur springs.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes and his sister Fanny attended the ordinary schools in Delaware, and one of their first schoolmasters is described as a little thin wiry Yankee, with a too athletic zeal for letters, which induced him to freely use the rod, and flog boys twice his bulk. The children studied together until Hayes reached his fourteenth year, and it is recorded that they read Hume and Smollett's History of England, Shakespeare, Tom Moore, and various Latin and Greek authors. They also dramatised Scott's "Lady of the Lake." In 1836 Hayes went to the Academy of Norwalk, Ohio, where he remained for one year. After this he proceeded to Middletown, Connecticut, and at the school of Isaac Webb prepared for Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. This college was founded by Bishop Chase mostly from funds collected in England. The principal subscribers were Lord Kenyon and Lord Gambier, whose names have been thus

kept green in the memories of Americans. Hayes in 1838 passed satisfactorily his examination for the freshman's class, and entered the college at once. At Middletown he was deeply engaged in translating Homer, and exercised his ingenuity in mock-heroic law pleas, and every sort of grotesque extravagance in both prose and rhyme. His career at the University was eminently satisfactory. He gained the first prize in Latin, Greek, and arithmetic; took part in the literary debates, and became the prominent member of the college, so much so, that on graduation day he was elected valedictorian, and his oratory on the occasion was much extolled on all sides. Amongst his fellow-students were the Hon. Joseph McCorkle, the Hon. R. E. Trowbridge (afterwards members for California and Michigan respectively), and Christopher Wolcott (Attorney-General of Ohio). At the end of his third year at college Hayes put in writing his estimate of his fellow students. He kept a very minute diary, and examined himself as to his motives, purposes, ideas, and aspirations. He declares himself as being at that time too ready to try the edge of his wit on others, and perceiving this failing he proceeded to curb it. Whether this had the effect or not of bringing about a change in the opposite direction, he is described as painfully bashful in society. From the two extremes he at last struck a medium, and, gaining wisdom from his two experiences, he aimed at being "a good man of the world." He was so much thought of at his college that after he left his career was carefully watched. In 1845 Hayes was invited back to the college to deliver the Master's oration, and in 1851 and 1853 to deliver the annual address. But he modestly declined all these honours. He was addicted to every kind of manly sports, and excelled in shooting, hunting, swimming, and skating, while as a fisherman he was especially successful. He accomplished some great feats in pedestrianism, walking forty miles home to Delaware, in twelve hours, at Christmas time, and then after vacation back to Gambier when there were four inches of snow on the ground.

The early training of Hayes had a marked effect on his after career. His excellence in field sports greatly conduced to the physical strength which has been so much exercised; while his studious habits, begun under the guidance of Judge Sherman, have been the means of gaining for him the mass of knowledge which is placed to his credit.

After graduating at college (1842), Hayes began his legal studies in the office of Sparrow and Mathews, prominent lawyers in Columbus, where he continued for ten months. On the 22nd August, 1843, he entered the Law School at Harvard University, and graduated on the 8th July, 1845. During the period he was at Cambridge he attended the Law Institution under Mr. Justice Story, and took a leading part in the "Moots," making full notes of the trials which were held. He also attended the lectures of Longfellow, Agassiz, Webster, and John Quincy Adams. He heard Bancroft address a Democratic meeting in Boston, and the younger Dana lecture on American loyalty, and going to the theatre for the first time in his life he saw Macready in *Hamlet*. From this time Hayes took a great interest in politics, and began to study it. At Cambridge he kept up his German, French, and Greek, working at them as well as at law. Indeed, the record of the rules "for the month" he laid down for study show that his time was fully occupied by hard mental work. The rules were as follow:—

First—Read no newspapers.

Second—Rise at 7, and retire at 10.

Third—Study law six hours, German two, and Chemistry two.

Fourth—In reading "Blackstone's Commentary," to record my difficulties.

They are interesting as evincing a systematic regulation of the days, and their appointment to certain fixed duties.

After leaving Cambridge Hayes went to Marietta, where the Ambulatory Court of Ohio was at that time. He passed the necessary examinations, and was admitted to practice on the 10th March, 1845. Thence he proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), Ohio, and began practice as a lawyer, in partnership with Mr. Ralph P. Buckland. In 1848 bleeding at the lungs brought about a general break-up of health, and he was compelled to give up practice. Proceeding far away from the scene of his work, he visited an old fellow-student (Bryan) in Texas, and for six months indulged in an open-air life, occupied in hunting and all kinds of sports. The effect of this was to completely restore his health, and he returned to Fremont. In 1850 he entered into partnership with Mr. J. W. Herron, in Cincinnati, and soon brought himself into notice. He attended and recorded Emerson's lectures, and read much of his favourite author's productions. Hayes' idea in reading was "to find out what an author had to say, not to see how he said it," so that he became an adept in gathering the gist of a work by a very cursory glance at its pages. This became a particularly useful accomplishment, especially when he had subsequently to deal with masses of political writings. He was appointed by the Judge of the Criminal Court (1852) to defend one Nancy Farrer, who was being tried for poisoning two families. He put forth the plea of insanity, and made a very telling speech. Notwithstanding, however, a very powerful appeal, the verdict was against him. Convinced of the insanity of the prisoner, he applied for a writ of error, and having obtained it, appeared again on the prisoner's behalf in the Supreme Court of Ohio, December, 1853, more than a year after the conviction. He was again unsuccessful. But subsequently a commission found Nancy Farrer of unsound mind, and the sentence of the law was never carried into effect. This case gave him great fame in his profession, and he steadily got into large practice.

While in Cincinnati he married (December 30, 1852) Lucy Ware Webb, daughter of Dr. James Webb, by whom he has had eight children, of whom five are now living. In full practice Hayes yet found time to devote himself to politics, and in the many meetings which he attended he was always listened to with great interest, and his opinions carried great weight. In 1859 he was elected, by a majority of one, City Solicitor of Cincinnati, and held the appointment till 1861. On the outbreak of the War of Secession, Hayes, immediately President Lincoln's call for troops came, volunteered for service, although in the height of a successful practice. He framed the resolutions of the largest of the public meetings, and unhesitatingly threw all his influence into the scale on the side of the North. His own notes are to the following effect:—"I have agreed" he wrote, "to go into service for the war . . . This is a just and necessary war, and it demands the whole power of the country. I would prefer to go into it if I knew I was to be killed in the course of it, rather than live through and after it without taking any part in it." At this time he was thirty-nine years of age. But he had made up his mind to fight for what to him was the right, and at once set about mastering the art of war. He declined a colonel's commission which was sent him by President Lincoln, and contented himself with the captaincy of a company composed almost entirely of members of the Literary Club who had elected him to the post. Entering on this new career with the indomitable resolution which has characterised every action of his life, Hayes studied tactics theoretically, and practically went through all the drills necessary to make him acquainted with the various manœuvres of regular troops. His efficiency was rewarded by a majority in the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry in June, 1861; and two days after the receipt of his commission he was in camp with his regiment. He wrote then in the following strain:—"I am much

happier in this business than I could be fretting away in the old office near the court-house. *It is living.*"

On the 25th July, 1861, on receipt of the news of the defeat at Bull's Run, the regiment was ordered to West Virginia, and soon had an opportunity of exchanging fire with the enemy. Against his wish Hayes was appointed Judge-Advocate for six weeks. But at the expiration of that time he rejoined his regiment on promotion to its command as lieutenant-colonel. Some time was spent at Camp Ewing in arduous duties. But towards the end of November the regiment left the camp, and subsequently—16th September, 1862, as the official report gives it—took part, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, in the battle of South Mountain, and was the first infantry engaged. In this sanguinary fight he was struck by a rifle bullet, which crashed through his left arm above the elbow, carrying away part of the bone. His men were forced back, and Hayes having fainted, was left on the ground between them and the enemy. On recovering from his faint he called out, "Hallo, 23rd men, are you going to leave your colonel here for the enemy?" and about half a dozen of them came from their cover to which they had retired and, after more than one attempt, carried him out of range. He had at this time been appointed colonel of the 79th Ohio Regiment, but his wound prevented his taking command. On the 30th November, however, he rejoined the 23rd, his old regiment, as full colonel. While in West Virginia he was ordered against a rebel force near Princetown. On the 1st May, seventy-five of his men were attacked by 300 cavalry and guerillas. They beat off the enemy, but lost a third of their number in killed and wounded. Of this occasion Hayes writes:—"As I rode up they saluted me with a present arms. Several were bloody with wounds as they stood in their places; one boy limped to his post who had been hit three times. As I looked at the glow of pride on their faces my heart choked me; I couldn't speak; but a boy said, 'All right, colonel; we know what you mean!'" This is ample proof of the esteem in which he was held by his subordinates. He has always been the soldier's friend, and on more than one occasion has gone out of his way to be of service to those who have fought their country's battles. Once when a corps commander assailed his men with a storm of opprobrious epithets for taking straw from a stack for bedding, he put himself to the front, and firmly defended them. More angry words from the general provoke the indignant retort from Hayes, "I trust our generals will exhibit the same energy in dealing with their foes that they do in the treatment of their friends!" Three weeks after he was wounded, on the day he attained his fortieth year, Hayes walked over the battlefield accompanied by his wife. Like her husband, Mrs. Hayes was beloved by the men. The soldiers called her a noble woman, and her attention to the sick and wounded won their hearts. To do her honour they named their camp Camp Lucy Hayes, and not a man in all those thousands but would have unhesitatingly risked his life for her. In October, 1862, the army went into winter quarters near the Great Kanawha Falls, and Hayes chiefly interested himself in the sanitary arrangements of the camp, which, by his energy, were rendered most efficient. During this time he was summoned to take part in the pursuit and capture of John Morgan, after his famous raid through Ohio.

On the 29th April he joined the forces under General Crook in their raid on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. On the 9th May, 1864, the battle of Cloyd Mountain was fought, and Hayes commanded a brigade, and took a most conspicuous part in the fight. On the 18th June the retreat began, and continued till the 1st July, when Charlestown was reached. The severity of the journey may be gathered from the fact that "men frequently fell down asleep on the road."

On the 24th Hayes took part in an action which resulted in defeat, the first he had known. In this his horse was shot under him, and he was struck in the shoulder by a spent ball. After this his brigade skirmished up and down the Shenandoah Valley, and on the 23rd August he repulsed an attack, then dashed out, and as it is quaintly remarked, "picked up a small South Carolina regiment entire."

On the 19th September the battle of Opequan was fought, and Hayes had the extreme right of Crook's command. In making a flank attack he acted with conspicuous bravery, and exposed himself in his usual reckless manner. On the next day the battle of Fisher's Hill followed, and as he wrote there was "a wholesale capture of artillery by our forces without the loss of a man." Hayes himself led the charge, and galloped right down on the enemy's lines.

On the memorable 19th October at Cedar Creek, he commanded the Kanawha division. Seeing his right breaking, he rode down to rally them, but they were too much demoralised, and retreated, leaving him exposed to a heavy fire. While galloping forward his horse was shot, and he himself was flung to the ground and severely bruised. In the fall his left ankle, catching in the stirrup, was dislocated. Lying perfectly still for fear of drawing the enemy's fire, though in great pain, he watched his opportunity, and when a chance offered he ran the gauntlet and reached his own lines. Mounting his orderly's horse, he continued actively engaged during the whole day, and was rewarded by taking part in a signal victory gained out of a defeat. Towards the close of the day he was struck on the head by a spent ball, but the wound was slight. In consequence of the ability and bravery he had shown, Sheridan appointed him a brigadier-general on the spot, and the rank was confirmed. The order of the day says: "For gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. To take rank from the date of the last-named battle."

In writing home Hayes said:—"General Crook gave me a very agreeable present this afternoon—a pair of his old brigadier-general's straps. The stars are dimmed with hard service, but will correspond pretty well with my rusty old blouse." In the spring of 1865 he was given the command of an expedition against Lynchburg, by way of the mountains of West Virginia; but owing to the close of the war he did not enter on the campaign, for which every preparation had been made. When hostilities terminated Hayes was breveted major-general for his gallant and distinguished services. During the war he was under fire on seven hundred days, had three horses shot under him, and was wounded four times, once very severely.

Before the close of the war he was elected (without any wish of his own) by a majority of 2,455 as representative for Ohio in Congress, and took his seat on the 4th December, 1865. He was made chairman of the Committee on Library in 1866. At the periodical dissolution he was re-nominated and re-elected, and again took his seat on the 11th March, 1867. Although a fine speaker, Hayes for the first three sessions did not make a single elaborate speech. He occupied himself specially in looking after the pensions and pay of soldiers, and personally received communications from all who desired to put forward their claims. He was three times elected Governor of Ohio. The first time on the 15th January, 1868, and again on the 10th January, 1870, and again on the 5th January, 1875. He was nominated as President on the 16th January, 1876, and declared duly elected after a four months' delay in scrutinising the votes.

This delay was rendered necessary by the many allegations which were made with reference to the voting. Party spirit ran very high, and expedients of a far from creditable nature were resorted to in order to throw discredit on the *bona fides* of the newly-elected President and his



partisans. The Commission appointed during the course of its inquiry elicited a great deal of evidence to the effect that there had been trickery on the side of the opposing candidate, but nothing was brought forward which cast any slur on the action of Hayes. In consequence of the report sent in by the Commission to Congress the election was recognised, and Hayes entered on his duties as President of the United States of America on the 2nd March, 1877.

Having obtained the highest position possible to a citizen of the United States, Hayes set himself to work to inaugurate some of those reforms which he had long seen were urgently required. The Civil Service occupied much of his attention, and the numerous abuses which had crept into that department of the State were greatly reduced in a very short space of time. As President, Hayes had in his hands a large amount of patronage, by which he might have served his own ends had he chosen to do so. But to his credit he utterly refused to place the weight of his influence in the scale when applications for lucrative appointments were made, and gave them invariably to those best fitted for the work, without regard for their claims on him, either by reason of relationship or party support. Having fairly started this reform, Hayes proceeded to the greater task of conciliating the South, and obliterating the feelings of hate for their fellow-citizens of the North which had rankled in the breasts of the Southerners ever since the Civil War. He withdrew the Federal troops from the erst rebel States, and thus appealed to them in their capacity of citizens. He restored to them all their rights, and succeeded beyond all calculations in speedily cementing the bond of union which had only a few years before been so roughly torn asunder. The good work was singularly aided by the outbreak of an epidemic of yellow fever in the South, by which misery and desolation were carried to innumerable households. A wail of agony arose and went throughout the length and breadth of the land. The terrible sufferings of the fever-stricken people were brought home to the North. In response to the agonised appeal of their fellow-citizens of the South the North nobly responded, and relief of every description for the survivors was poured in from all sides. This action of humanity completed the work Hayes had begun, and now the North and South are once more really united. Following out his invariable plan of looking after the interests of the soldiers who had suffered from the war, Hayes continued unceasingly in his efforts to ameliorate their condition, and himself personally partook in the necessary measures for effecting his object, which was achieved with great success.

Up to the beginning of this year (1879) Hayes managed to steer clear of any very embarrassing position, but in March last great pressure was brought to bear upon him by the Constitutional State Convention of California, and a branch of the Nevada legislation, to induce him to sign the Bill restricting Chinese immigration. The Republican party, to which Hayes belongs, had a heavy stake on the constitution, and in the interests of his party it was necessary to manœuvre with the greatest possible delicacy. The question of Chinese labour was causing an immense amount of excitement in the Western States, and the rowdy element of the population were agitating and denouncing the Chinese. At public meetings stump orators held out threats of lynch law, and declared that the hated yellow-skinned rabble should be driven into the sea. For years the animosity of the rowdies had shown itself every now and then, and the constitution had placed the Chinese in the peculiar position of positive aliens, denying them the rights of citizenship, and confining them into marked-off limits. It was alleged that the cheapness of the Chinese was gradually impoverishing the white population, and that ere long the latter would be reduced to starvation, that the Chinese never aided the Government, that they were not citizens, and that they introduced all kinds of vile practices which were undermining the morality of the



country. Very strong arguments in favour of the restricting Bill pointed, moreover, at the weak side of the Americans that they were capable of being ousted by the natives of a nation looked upon as their inferiors in every way. Working on popular pride, the agitators succeeded in winning over to their side a majority of members of Congress, and the Bill was passed. Fortunately the United States possessed in Hayes a President of integrity, legal training, and refined culture. He carefully reviewed all the circumstances connected with the case. He clearly saw that the whole thing was got up by disaffected rowdies, and that the honour of the nation was to a great extent at stake. According to existing treaties the United States of America were pledged to give to Chinese citizens freedom to come and go to their territory. Unless these provisions were abrogated by a convention of similar calibre they still held good, and any sudden stoppage of the privilege would be a breach of faith which it was undesirable for a great nation like the United States to be guilty of. Moreover, the Chinese labourers are by no means a bad speculation. Most of the large railway enterprises were carried out by them, and further extensions would require their aid. Under these circumstances Hayes, actuated by a sense of right, exercised the powers given to him in his capacity of President, and vetoed the Bill. The wisdom of his action has since been shown by subsequent events. The anti-Chinese feeling is subsiding. The improved times have improved the temper of the working classes, and increased public works now give employment for all. Chinese find plenty to do in all directions. There are six thousand at work on the Texas Pacific Railroad, and the scheme for the Canal across the Isthmus of Panama, when once begun, will raise a demand for many more. The presence of Chinamen in America will conduce to an enlargement of the trade between the two countries, and this is desired by all Americans who wish for commercial progress. The firm stand of Hayes on this question must have a great effect in checking that pressure which the rowdy classes who abound in the United States have for so long been able to bring on the politics of the nation.

With reference to the Chinese labour question, General Grant, during his tour round the world, has made some interesting remarks. In reply to an address of the Chinese members of the community of Penang, he is said to have stated that the antagonism displayed towards the emigrants was not on account of the cheapness of their labour, or their not becoming citizens, but because they arrived in a state of bondage. This, of course, was repugnant to the feelings of a nation which had spent a vast amount of blood and treasure in the suppression of slavery, and in consequence the movers of the Bill which passed Congress were actuated by purely philanthropic motives. The system of service to companies for fixed periods in return for passage money and advances was at the root of the evil. If Chinese emigrants arrived in America as free men no difficulties would be placed in their way. But so long as they only came as slaves, popular indignation would continue adverse to their being admitted at all. The opinion of the ex-President, presumably based on philanthropic principles, really takes the same side as that of Hayes, and goes far to prove the far-sightedness which proceeded to the extreme measure of a veto in the case. The interests of the nation demanded strong action, and it was unhesitatingly entered on to attain that end. During Hayes' Presidency Eastern connections have in every way been improved, and the commercial future has occupied much of his attention. The rapid advance of the Japanese towards civilisation has made them look upon the position they occupy in their dealings with foreigners as irksome to a degree. They have strongly maintained their right to administer their own laws and regulate their own tariffs. At the present moment, England, France, Russia, and Germany are negotiating on the subject, but the United States,

of America have already recognised the Japanese right, and this concession has procured for Americans the opening of two new ports. The convention entered into is subject to the concurrence of the other Powers, but the action of the United States will no doubt influence the subsequent decision.

Since then nothing of any very great importance has occurred, and perhaps this may be considered as the best proof of the policy which has been pursued by the administration. Although no extraordinary events have taken place during the time Hayes has been President, every one must agree that he has acted throughout prudently and honestly. He has had the welfare of his country at heart, and his earnest efforts have been directed towards reforms in all those branches of the service where corruption was rapidly becoming the order of the day. It is a moot question whether Hayes will again be nominated as President when his term of office expires. Popular opinion is pointing to General Grant as his probable successor, and there is no doubt that the successful soldier, who has already served twice, will be pressed to accept yet another term of office. If he follows in the path of the great Washington he will refuse, and there is nothing as yet to show that he desires re-nomination. If he does not come forward the chances are greatly in favour of the re-election of Hayes. His party is convinced of his earnestness, and will rally round him. The nation as a whole must appreciate his work, and looking to the fact that his opponents, apart from General Grant, will be run from purely party motives, many will support him to maintain that order which is his aim. In re-nominating and electing Hayes the citizens of the United States will be doing their nation a service. And they might go farther and fare much worse.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by M. Alophe, Paris.]*





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A. P. T. H. S. K. I. N. M. N. O. N.

FIELD MARSHAL COUNT MOLTKE.

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Helmut Karl Bernhard von Moltke, the father of the famous general, was born in 1790 in the Danish army. His father, Hans von Moltke, belonged to the noble family of Moltkeburg. His parents were connected to the old nobility of the north. Moltke's father, who was the future general's father, died on the 26th of October 1800. Helmut von Moltke was born in Lübeck, where, when he was 2 years of age, and his first education, the mother, who lived in the house which the Moltkes inhabited before, plundered by the French. The eldest of the next generation purchased a country house in Holstein; but another misfortune shortly before the house being burnt down just after the grain had been gathered in. The young Moltke and his eldest brother were shortly afterwards sent to the Cadet School at Copenhagen, and they do not appear to have been greatly concerned with their new life. At the age of eighteen young Moltke became an officer. Thanks to him, and to his good recommendations from the Duke of Schleswig-Beck, the father of the present King of Denmark, he passed the examination and entered the infantry regiment, No. 1. It was thus that his military career began. He is said to have been, when boys, under the care of Professor Knudsen at Hohenfeld, the favourite pupil of the brothers Moltke was the *Kriegsspiel*, or game warfare. An anecdote which is related shows how the military spirit was early developed in Helmut von Moltke. He and his brother



## FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT MOLTKE.



THE distinguished strategist who forms the subject of this biography divides with Prince Bismarck the honour of having founded and established the great German Empire. Diplomacy may be a principal agent in the creation and consolidation of States, but crises arise when the pen must be supplemented by the sword. Without the aid of the finest military genius of the age, the most famous of living European statesmen would have found his task difficult, if, indeed, he had not failed to achieve his great purposes. If modesty and a reticent disposition beseeem a soldier, these qualities were never better exemplified than in the case of Count Moltke. In moments when other generals and strategists would have endangered the success of their plans by agitation and excitement, the chief of the German army seemed to acquire only a greater calmness and self-control. His history furnishes a series of unbroken triumphs, due partly to the fact that he has never forgotten the great military lesson that a knowledge of the tactics of the enemy is almost as essential as a well-developed plan of attack or defence. But if Count Moltke has studied the art of being "silent in seven languages," it is not from wanting the power of literary expression. The diaries in which he has narrated the campaigns in which he bore so conspicuous a part, as well as several other works which at various times have been published by the Marshal, demonstrate that he can wield the symbol of peace equally with that of war. Perhaps the most remarkable fact in connection with his career is that he had attained his sixty-sixth year before his name attracted the attention of the world, or before his country was aware of the mighty military genius in her midst.

Helmuth Karl Bernhardt von Moltke was the third of seven sons of a lieutenant-general in the Danish army. His mother was Henrietta Paschen, daughter of the Finanz-Rath of Hamburg. His parents were on a visit to their relative, Helmuth von Moltke, at Parchim, when the future general was born, on the 26th of October, 1800. He went with his parents to Lübeck, where, when only six years of age, he had his first experiences of the ravages of war: the house which the Moltkes inhabited being plundered by the French. The elder Moltke next purchased a country house in Holstein; but another disaster shortly befell him, the place being burnt down just after the grain had been gathered in. The younger Moltke and his eldest brother were shortly afterwards sent to the Cadet School at Copenhagen, but they do not appear to have been greatly enamoured with their new life. At the age of eighteen young Moltke became an officer. Taking with him to Berlin good recommendations from the Duke of Holstein-Beck, the father of the present King of Denmark, he passed the examination, and entered the infantry regiment, No. 8. It was thus that his military career began. It is stated that when boys, under the care of Professor Knickbein at Hohenfeld, the favourite pastime of the brothers Moltke was the *kriegspiel*, or mimic warfare. An anecdote which is related shows how the military spirit was early developed in Helmuth von Moltke. He and his brother

on one occasion placed themselves at the head of a number of peasant boys, the battle-field being a stubble enclosed by a high fence. Helmuth's troops were put to flight, and some were taken prisoners; but quickly rallying his men, he led them to a pond in the pastor's garden, where there was an island accessible only by a drawbridge made of a single plank. The defeated general turned on the enemy, whom he kept at bay with a few of his strongest men, while the body of his troops made their way into the fortress. When the last one had entered, the drawbridge was raised, and victory remained with Helmuth. Thus, as Wordsworth has remarked, "the child is father of the man."

On leaving the Military School of Copenhagen, Von Moltke was appointed page at court for a year, and then became lieutenant of a regiment stationed at Rendsburg. As a result of the separation of Denmark from Norway, the army was greatly reduced, with very little prospect of promotion for the younger men who remained in it. Moltke consequently threw up his commission in the Danish service (losing whatever benefits attached thereto), and entered a Prussian regiment quartered at Frankfort. In 1820 he proceeded to the great Military Academy at Berlin, where he remained for six years. His parents having lost nearly the whole of their property through war and misfortune, Moltke was often in great pecuniary straits, yet he contrived to spare enough from his limited resources to obtain instruction in foreign languages. In the year 1832 he was appointed to the staff, in which service he continued for three years, which were spent in close study. He then obtained leave to travel, and proceeded to Constantinople, where he arrived in December, 1835. He aided the Sultan Mahmoud II. in reconstructing the Turkish army after the European models. He also made surveys for a general plan of Constantinople, and his work being completed in 1837, he visited several places on the Asiatic coast. In the capacity of military adviser, he accompanied the Sultan on a visit to Bulgaria and Roumelia, and two years later joined in the expedition against the Pasha of Egypt. The Turkish army was disastrously defeated at Nisib, and Moltke, whose advice had not been followed, managed to escape to a port on the Black Sea, from whence he reached Constantinople. Having explained to the Sultan the causes of the failure of the campaign, he quitted Turkey in October, 1839, and returned to his old duties at Berlin. In 1845 Moltke published an account of the Turkish campaign. This work succeeded one entitled *Letters from Turkey*, which is said to have been the most popular of his writings. Karl Ritter, the eminent geographer, wrote an Introduction for it; and a German critic, describing its style, observed: "His language is so vivid in its colouring, and its style so elevated, that we are tempted to say, if Moltke had not become Moltke he would certainly have been a poet." In 1846 Moltke was appointed adjutant-in-attendance on Prince Henry of Prussia, the king's uncle. The prince lived in Rome, and was a constant invalid. Always busily engaged in study of some kind, Moltke occupied his leisure in Rome in making plans and maps of the city and neighbourhood, upon which he was highly complimented. Prince Henry dying in 1847, Moltke became, in the year following, a member of the grand general staff, having been engaged in connection with the command on the Rhine. In 1849 he was appointed chief of the staff of the 4th Army Corps in Magdeburg. He was thence transferred to the 8th division of the army, stationed at Coblenz. In the summer of 1856 he accompanied the Crown Prince on his Russian tour. During this visit he wrote a series of letters to his wife, which were afterwards published. They have lately been translated into English by Miss Napier. To this translation Miss Napier prefixed an admirable biographical sketch of Von Moltke, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of certain facts in the dis-



tinguished strategist's career. In the year just named (1856) Moltke was also in attendance upon the Crown Prince on his visit to England, when he was betrothed to the Princess Royal at Balmoral. He has on several occasions since paid visits to this country.

In the year 1858 Moltke was advanced to the rank of Chief of the Grand General Staff of the Prussian army, and in 1859 became a lieutenant-general. He now began, in conjunction with the war minister, Von Roon, the reorganisation of the Prussian army, and the results of his labours were apparent to the world, seven or eight years afterwards, in the crucial contest with Austria. Moltke also produced plans for the defence of the German coasts and the creation of a German navy. At this point it may be convenient to notice the present efficiency and strength of the German army, bearing in mind that these results have been attained chiefly through the exertions of Von Moltke. The largest army in Europe, upon a peace footing, is that of Russia, which numbers 768,427; France coming next, with 430,703; and then Germany, with 419,000. But in time of war Germany has the strongest resources of any European nation, being able to place upon a war footing a body of no fewer than 1,273,346 men. She is closely followed by Russia, with a total war footing of 1,213,259; and France, with 1,000,000 men; Austria, the next in order, being 300,000 men below the last-named Power. In Germany, by the Constitution of 1871, the Prussian system was extended to the whole Empire, and every able-bodied man must serve in the army. From his twentieth year he must pass seven years in the active army—three in active service, and the remainder in the reserve. He then forms part of the landwehr for five years. By a law passed in 1875, every man capable of bearing arms, who is not either in the line, the reserve, or the landwehr, must form a part of the landsturm until he is forty-two years of age. By calling out all, except her last reserves, Germany could put close upon two millions and a half of men in the field. The cost of the army for the year 1877 was a trifle over eighteen millions sterling, so that her military supremacy has not been cheaply purchased.

During the Austro-Italian war Moltke was present in the Austrian head-quarters. He studied carefully the Austrian plan of campaign and the tactics of the opposing army; and after the conclusion of peace he devoted himself systematically to the task of developing the capacities of the Prussian general staff and the Prussian army. In 1864 the Prussian war with Denmark broke out. Schleswig and Holstein were invaded by Prussia and Austria in conjunction, were wrested from Denmark, and transferred to the allies jointly. Moltke sketched the plan of the campaign and assisted in its execution, serving with distinction. In 1865 the Duchy of Lauenberg, situate east of Holstein and north of the Elbe, was ceded by Denmark to Prussia. It was not till 1866, however, that the general's first great opportunity came. During this second war he again assumed the chief responsibility, acting as he did in the war with Denmark. As will be remembered, Prussia and Austria—at the close of fruitless diplomatic negotiations—went to war in the year 1866. The former Power claimed for herself Schleswig and Holstein; this, with other causes of dissension and jealousy, led to the seven weeks' war between Prussia and Austria, in which Prussia was joined by Italy. Austria was signally defeated in the battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz). The whole plan of this Bohemian campaign was due to Moltke, who was present in the battle of Königgrätz, which he led. In like manner he arranged the bold advance of the Prussian columns against Olmutz and Vienna, and negotiated the armistice and the preliminaries of peace. This campaign has been generally regarded as one of the most brilliant, rapid, and decisive which have been fought in modern times.

Moltke himself described it as "a campaign which, for Prussia, for Germany, and for the whole world, has an importance which it is impossible to measure." Stated briefly, the chief results of the war were that Austria was excluded from the Germanic Confederation, and that Venetia was transferred to Italy. A North German Confederation, which included all the States north of the Main and Bohemia, was formed, with Prussia at its head; the States south of that line formed the South German Confederation. For his services during this war Von Moltke received the order of the Black Eagle and a national dotation.

Early in 1870 it became apparent to observers of European politics that a war between France and Germany was, sooner or later, inevitable. For some time before this, however, Von Moltke and other leading Prussian generals and statesmen had been preparing for war. Moltke, indeed, long before the war actually broke out, had been engaged in drawing up plans for a movable campaign. At last the moment arrived when the great soldier was called from his retirement in Silesia (where he had, a year and a half before, buried his wife), and beckoned by the hand of duty to a still greater task than any he had yet undertaken. On the 15th of July, 1870, the Emperor Napoleon, with a rashness which has since been almost universally admitted, but for which he was perhaps not altogether responsible, declared war against Prussia. The ostensible ground of complaint by France was that she was dissatisfied with the conduct of Prussia in connection with the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the vacant Spanish crown. Before the fiat of Napoleon had gone forth, Moltke and Bismarck had hastened to Berlin, being led thither by ominous portents of the coming storm. A terrible conflict speedily ensued, and one which for bloodshed has not been rivalled in Europe since the days of the first Napoleon. Victory after victory fell to the lot of the Prussian armies, and at length, on the 1st of September, the great and crushing catastrophe for France arrived: the Emperor Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. The King of Prussia, speaking at the banquet which followed the battle, and drinking to his brave army, said: "You, Von Roon, have sharpened my sword; you, General von Moltke, have wielded it; and you, Count Von Bismarck, have guided the policy of Prussia for years towards the height which it has this day attained!"

The following passage, referring to a memorable incident in the Franco-German campaign, and published by one of the victorious general's biographers, will be perused with interest: "The close relations which existed between the king and his faithful servants—Moltke, the great soldier, and Bismarck, the great statesman—are exemplified by a circumstance which is said to have occurred at the end of the terrible conflict at Gravelotte, and is very characteristic. The Pomeranians having come up just at the right time, as arranged by Moltke, the French were defeated and driven into Metz. It was late in the evening when the victory was decided, and as it was impossible for them to return to the head-quarters at Port-à-Mousson, the King and his immediate followers were obliged to seek shelter in Rezonville or spend the night in the open air. All the houses were filled with the wounded; only one small room was found for the King, and here a camp-bed was brought for His Majesty. 'And where is Moltke, where is Bismarck to be quartered?' asked the King. 'Nowhere at present,' said the adjutant. 'Fetch them here,' said the King, sending away the camp-bed for the use of the wounded, and ordering some straw to be brought, of which a bed was made, on which the King, Moltke, and Bismarck slept, all three together."

Upon the Emperor Napoleon's surrender at Sedan, the French Empire was abolished, and a Republic proclaimed at Paris. The Prussians marched upon the city, and invested it on the 19th of September. Fighting also went on in other parts of France. The new Republican

Government was scarcely recognised by the Prussians as anything save a band of illegitimate dictators. The bombardment of Paris began, and Moltke defended himself for having commenced operations without proper announcement by saying that he did not feel obliged to confine himself to ordinary usage in treating with a Government which had no rights. M. Jules Favre formulated, as the cardinal points of a demand to be presented to Prince Bismarek, an armistice, the election of an Assembly, in order that France might be consulted as to her wishes for the future, assurances that the Prussian victors would not enter Paris, that the National Guard should be allowed to retain its arms, and that none of its members should be taken as prisoners to Germany. When M. Favre laid his propositions before the German Chancellor, however, the prince replied, "You are too late; we have treated with your Emperor; as you neither can nor wish to make any promises on the part of France, you will easily understand that we shall seek the most efficacious means of finishing the war." Further details of this time of bitterness for France are matters of history. On the 28th of January, 1871, Paris surrendered; and the war was terminated by the Peace of Frankfort, signed on the 10th of May. By this treaty most of Alsace and the German-speaking portion of Lothringen (Lorraine), including the great fortress of Metz, were transferred to Prussia. Prussia also occupied the north and east of France until a heavy war indemnity was paid. To General Moltke—or "Father Moltke," as he is familiarly termed in the German army—and his brilliant strategy are ascribed the splendid series of victories which marked the course of the Franco-German war. He was the Commander-in-Chief, and the whole plan of the campaign was due to him. The king, in recognition of his unrivalled services, elevated Moltke from the rank of baron to that of count. This was on the 20th of October, 1870, and in the September of the following year he was appointed Chief Marshal of the German Empire, and again received a national dotation. The illustrious marshal also received from the Emperor of Russia the Order of St. George, the highest military decoration in the power of the Czar to bestow. The Emperor William further bestowed upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Iron Cross in March, 1871. The Marshal is a great favourite with the German troops, and on every occasion is received by them with the utmost enthusiasm.

In 1871 King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles. On the outbreak of the war which had terminated so successfully for Prussia, the States of the Southern Confederation had joined in the campaign. Its victorious result naturally gave Prussia a still greater ascendancy than she had previously enjoyed; and the favourable opportunity was seized for completing the unification of Germany. The confederations of 1866 were abolished, and all the German States, except Austria, were combined in a new German Empire, under the hereditary supremacy of Prussia. Thus was completed one of the greatest and most powerful of modern federations; and two names—those of Bismarek and Moltke—are inseparably associated in this triumphant issue of the policy and conflicts of twenty years.

An interesting account of an interview with General von Moltke was published in a popular German journal, called *Daheim*, in October, 1866. The correspondent of the journal in question states that he found the general of the staff in his house, in the Behren Strasse, Berlin. The first impression made by Moltke was that of extreme gravity: his tall, upright figure seemed born to command; the expression of his features was that of iron firmness, the wrinkles on his face appearing to be chiselled on a block of marble. The General had a great dislike for anything which seemed to bear the construction of popularity-hunting.

He was loth to speak of himself, but after some conversation on other topics, he thus expressed himself to the correspondent who interviewed him: "I will tell you exactly what I feel: I have an antipathy for praise-mongering, such as some persons have for certain animals; it puts me out of tune for a whole day to hear anything of the kind. The Bohemian campaign is, indeed, a grand, undying page in the history of the world, an event the consequences of which no one—*no one*—can now foresee. I have done my duty and filled my position honourably, like all my comrades, and nothing more. God's almighty power has guided the victorious flight of the Prussian eagle. The bravery of our army, the caution of their leaders, as well as my plans, are only the instruments of His will; and when I hear the boundless laudations which the public heap upon me, the thought always reeurs, How would it have been if success, this unparalleled success, had not crowned our efforts? Would not the unmerited praises of so many ignorant critics have become just so much unmerited blame?" In order that his visitor should not go away empty-handed, however, the General gave him a small packet on parting, containing notes, in the famous soldier's own handwriting, upon military matters and plans of great moment.

Touching Count von Moltke's appearances as an author, we have already remarked that his *Letters from Turkey* were published in 1835. The same year also witnessed the publication of the *Campaign in Turkey*; and in referring to this work, in the course of his conversation with the correspondent of *Daheim*, the Count remarked: "It appeared anonymously, like all my books, and it must have been what you call a literary fiasco, for I have never heard any but professional men speak of it." His book on *The Italian Campaign of 1859* was published in 1863. It attracted much attention in Austria, on account of the laudatory manner in which the author, with his usual frank and chivalrous spirit, referred to General Benedek. The history of *The German and French War of 1870-71* was published by the General Staff in Berlin in 1874, and much of this work came from the pen of Count Moltke. His *Letters from Russia* have been published both in Denmark and Germany. An English translation of his *Observations on the Influence that Arms of Precision have on Modern Tactics* was published in London in the year 1871.

In 1873 the Emperor of Germany, at the instigation of Count Moltke, ordered two millions of needle-guns, to supply the losses sustained by the different arsenals in the Franco-German war. It was by means of this weapon that the successful operations against Denmark, Austria, and France were carried on, and the German soldiers—which, of course, means the German population—had become used to its management. Recent events, however, have demonstrated that the needle-gun is not regarded with that unbounded faith in Germany which prevailed at the time when the above extensive order was given. Count Moltke exercises a sleepless vigilance in perfecting the arms and accoutrements of the German soldiery, and becomes immediately personally acquainted with all improvements in weapons and the construction of new arms made by other countries.

The Marshal also gives the closest attention to all that transpires in France. His staff kept a watchful eye upon the numerous defensive works constructed after the war of 1870 on the north-eastern frontier of France. Officers and agents of the German Government kept it accurately informed of the progress of affairs along the Vosges and the Jura. The fifth "Annuaire de la Section de Statistique et de Géographie du Grand État-Major," published in 1875, at Berlin, was accompanied by a map of the whole of the fortresses and railways of France. The "Annual" pointed out to the German officers the exact position of

the new forts, and how far the works had progressed. All the boundaries of France were examined, from Belgium, round by Luxembourg, Germany, Switzerland, the Mediterranean, Spain, and the Atlantic Ocean, to the English Channel. The construction of all new works of defence has since also been closely followed, and the minutest operations of France are known to her enemy across the Rhine. A few years ago it was said that Paris would form an immense central refuge, which could not be invested for the future; but the publication of certain studies made on this point by Prussian officers, under the direction of Count Moltke, has raised serious doubts in the minds of French military men. The Germans affirm that with 450,000 men they would be able to perform again the feat accomplished in 1870, and that 300,000 men would be required by France to occupy the vast space comprised within the defences of Paris.

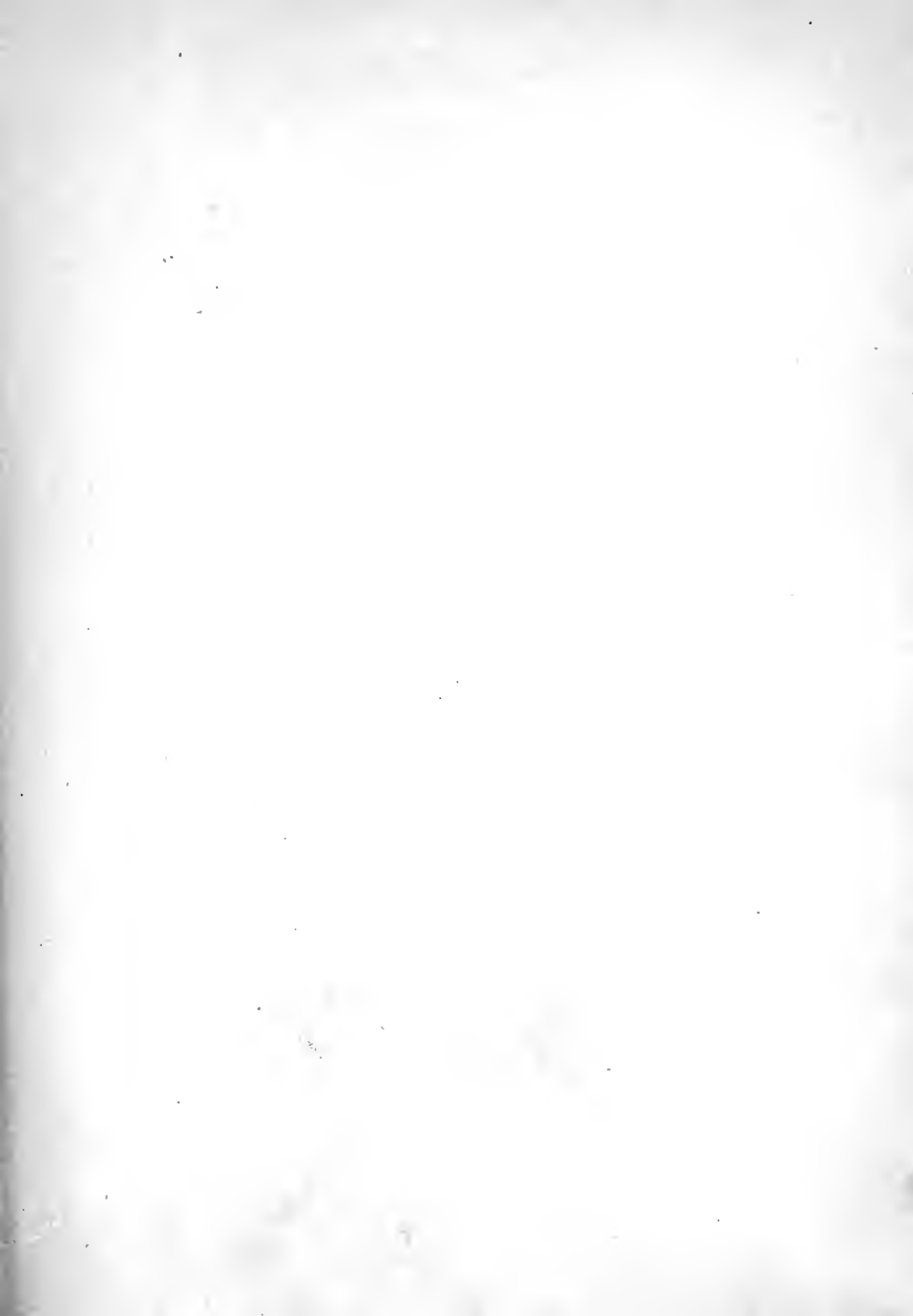
In May, 1878, a report was circulated in the Continental newspapers to the effect that a visit which Field-Marshal Moltke was about to pay to Denmark and Sweden had for its object the carrying out of a political mission. This report, however, was subsequently contradicted upon authority. It is difficult, of course, for an individual occupying the distinguished position of Field-Marshal Moltke to conceal his movements; and even when he does not leave Berlin, the quidnuncs have no difficulty in penetrating schemes which Germany is constantly reported to be maturing. Hanover has recently become a part of the great German Confederation, and there are European politicians who regard with anxious minds the future of Holland. This State has been marked out by some as the next subject of absorption by Germany, though the event is placed as yet in the dim distance. Touching upon this question, however, the *Edinburgh Review*—in an article upon “A Prussian Campaign in Holland,” published in October, 1875—remarked: “It is not for a moment to be supposed that the Dutch, if threatened by the powerful neighbour who holds the frontier until now covered largely by Hanover, can do much more than protect themselves against a *coup de main*. They would, doubtless, imitate the gallant resistance of the Danes to the invasion of Slesvik, and we trust less ineffectually. But it cannot be too loudly proclaimed that the independence of the Netherlands is a cardinal point in the political system of Europe, and one which we regard of absolutely vital importance to ourselves. The two most formidable crises in modern history occurred whilst the Low Countries were under the dominion of Spain in the sixteenth century, and again when they passed under the dominion of France in the eighteenth. Their native love of freedom, not unaided by England, enabled them twice to throw off the yoke; and the men of Holland would be equally impatient of the dominion of a Teutonic Empire, which is at this moment the object of their apprehensions. We trust those apprehensions may prove altogether unfounded. But we believe that the first sign of an aggression on Holland would kindle the entire sympathy of Europe; and it is one of the first of British interests that the coasts and harbours within a few hours’ sail of our shores should ever remain in the hands of a friendly people, and as inviolate as our own territory.” Germany with the sea-board of Holland would prove an absolutely overwhelming Power, and a constant source of menace and danger to the whole of the European Continent: but if we are to believe one of her most friendly critics, she has sufficient upon her hands for many years to come with her own internal concerns and the consolidation of the Empire. An able German critic, the Baron von Holtzendorff, has observed that “at present there may not yet exist any strong tendency toward drawing a line of practical separation between the royal and imperial prerogatives vested in the same Prussian Crown,

the less so because the Emperor and the Imperial Crown-Prince have, by the extraordinary prominence of their personal qualities, as well as by military success, acquired such an amount of popularity, even among the South German people, as no German prince could have boasted of since the romantic days of Barbarossa. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remark that future generations are by no means assured that the political feeling of the German nation toward their Emperor must at all times continue to coincide with the attachment of the Prussian people to their king. The Prussian king may allow himself and his ministers to carry out unpopular measures and bad laws to a considerable extent, without thereby incurring any practical change of responsibility. The German Emperor, however, could not stand unpopularity for a long period without shaking the foundation-stone of his authority." Years must elapse before the Empire founded so successfully by Bismarck and Moltke can be placed on a basis sufficiently stable to withstand the assaults of ages.

Field-Marshal Count Moltke's appearances in the German Parliament are very unfrequent. He is a soldier, not an orator. He spoke, however, on the Anti-Socialist Bill during its discussion in May, 1878. As an eye-witness of the horrors of the Paris Commune, the Count described the dangers of the Socialist agitation, and hoped the House would pass the Bill. It was necessary, he said, that the Government should be able to repress social democratic agitation, and not to wait until the reins of authority had slipped from out the hands of the Government into those of the masses. Then it would be much more difficult to render efficacious support; though the German Government would, notwithstanding, be sure to overwhelm by force any violent excess. Yet such a victory, unfortunately, would only be followed by other dangers.

In 1845 Count Moltke married Miss Mary Burt, the only daughter of an Englishman residing in Holstein. Mr. Burt, who was a widower, had already married the general's sister. The Count's wife died on Christmas Eve, 1868, leaving her husband, after twenty-three years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, without offspring.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from an original Photograph by Messrs. Reichard & Lindner, Court Photographers Berlin.]*







from a photograph by Messrs. Maull & 1877. Engraving by  
and 6/6 Chiswick London

GENERAL GARIBALDI.



## GIUSEPPE GARIBOLDI

### GIUSEPPE (JOSEPH) GARIBOLDI

who, by their nasellish and n... of the world's benefactors. The exan... enthusiasm of the patriots of many a down... the yoke of tyranny. Rarely is such a ca... —a career which began in the humblest... regard of an entire people, and the winner... the illustrious Italian patriot—and he has by... the lustre of his fame. The party and... questioned. While he could have rest... done—on the shoulders of the people t... the n... work was accomplished, to retire to his island... to devote himself to the pursuits of agriculture... as that of Garibaldi; but that which has g... nation is the spotless purity of his life and t...

Garibaldi was born at Naxos, in the gulf... in which Massena was born. His father, fo... many vicissitudes. Like many other great... of liberty appears, however, to have been... woman her distinguished son, herself wrote... her compassion for the suffering, that I... purity—for my country which has pro... fellow-citizens? I am not a mercenary... of my life, I have been... when she ke... and against... which it tossed like a... whistled in my ears like the wind... green balls showed around... I constantly saw her on her knees... her feet at the foot of the Mass... for me. That which gave me the... people have sometimes been... the conviction I felt that we had... so holy a woman... was praying for me. From... Garibaldi manifested... spirit and a changeless feeling... for the weak, the... offering. At the age of eight he... rescued a drowning... years later, when some of his... on a boat between Naxos and... in imminent peril owing to... he swam out to save them. Many other instances of his daring and heroism... Having received a good education he was pressed to adopt a profession, but the



## GENERAL GARIBALDI.

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GIUSEPPE (JOSEPH) GARIBALDI, the Liberator of Italy, is one of those few characters who, by their unselfish and noble-hearted patriotism, have been elevated into the ranks of the world's benefactors. The example of such men has kept alive the devotion and enthusiasm of the patriots of many a down-trodden nation, until they have at length thrown off the yoke of tyranny. Rarely is such a career as Garibaldi's witnessed in the history of peoples—a career which began in the humblest condition of life, and culminated in the affectionate regard of an entire people, and the admiration of the whole civilised world. The errors of the illustrious Italian patriot—and he has by no means been without them—detract little from the lustre of his fame. The purity and disinterestedness of his motives have never been questioned. While he could have risen—as unscrupulous popular leaders have so frequently done—on the shoulders of the people to the most ambitious heights, he was content, when his work was accomplished, to retire to his island home of Caprera, there, like another Cincinnatus, to devote himself to the pursuits of agriculture. There have been careers as brave and daring as that of Garibaldi; but that which has given him the immortal gratitude of the Italian nation is the spotless purity of his life and the almost unparalleled singleness of his aims.

Garibaldi was born at Nice, on the 22nd of July, 1807, in the same house and chamber in which Massena was born. His father, Dominique Garibaldi, was a sailor, who experienced many vicissitudes. Like many other great men, this future child of adventure and soldier of liberty appears, however, to have been most deeply impressed by his mother. Of this noble woman her distinguished son himself writes:—"Is it not to her pity for the unfortunate, to her compassion for the suffering, that I owe that great love—I will say more, that profound charity—for my country which has procured me the affection and sympathy of my unfortunate fellow-citizens? I am not superstitious, and yet I will affirm this, that in the most terrible instances of my life, when the ocean roared under the keel and against the sides of my vessel, which it tossed like a cork, when bullets whistled in my ears like the wind of the tempest, when balls showered around me like hail, I constantly saw her on her knees, buried in prayer, bent at the feet of the Most High, and for me. That which gave me that courage at which people have sometimes been astonished was the conviction I felt that no harm could happen to me while so holy a woman, while such an angel, was praying for me." From his earliest youth Garibaldi manifested a brave and fearless spirit, and a changeless feeling of pity and sympathy for the weak, the unfortunate, and the suffering. At the age of eight he plunged into the Var, and rescued a drowning woman. A few years later, when some of his companions, sailing in a boat between Nice and Villafranca, were in imminent peril owing to the rising of a storm, he swam out to save them. Many other instances of his daring and humanity are recorded.

Having received a good education, he was pressed to adopt a professional career, but the

combined instincts of the sailor and the soldier were too strong within him to allow of a sedentary life. He served for some time in the Sardinian navy, and has given an interesting account of his early voyages. In 1832 Mazzini deemed matters ripe for a rising against Charles Albert; but the insurrection was frustrated, and Garibaldi, who had joined in it, escaped with great difficulty. Two years later he was implicated in a second attempt, and was condemned to death. Despairing of the future of his country, he escaped to France. Sailing from Marseilles, he subsequently offered his services to the Bey of Tunis; but changing his purposes, he went to South America. Here he spent seven or eight years in fighting for the Rio Grande Republic. Subsequently he engaged in the service of the Republic of Monte Video, and fought against Rosas, the usurper of Buenos Ayres. Accompanied by his devoted and beloved wife Anita, Garibaldi passed through a series of surprising adventures. For four years he was in command of the little Monte Videan army, and fought the battle of Salto Sant' Antonio. His army numbered only 2,000 men. During the four years named he was never in bed, living and sleeping in his saddle or in the field. Returning to Italy, he took a prominent part in the great revolutionary movements of 1848. Offering his sword unsuccessfully to Pius IX., and being repulsed by Charles Albert, Garibaldi tendered his services to the Provisional Government of Rome. There was speedily fighting enough to satisfy any adventurous soldier, and many are the anecdotes told of Garibaldi's enterprise and gallantry. It was never his custom to count either the enemy or his own men: the enemy being in face of him, the enemy must be attacked; and in almost all instances his brave tactics succeeded. Falling in with Mazzini at Milan, the two patriots proceeded to Rome upon the flight of the Pope. The Republic was established, and for some time all went well under the guiding spirit of Mazzini, with Garibaldi as commander of the forces. The siege of Rome belongs to history. In addition to the French as assailants, the Italian patriots had to reckon with the King of Naples, who reduced his subjects to submission with shot and shell. Garibaldi encountered a Neapolitan army, nearly 15,000 strong, at Palestrina, drove them to Velletri, and finally chased them to the banks of the Volturno, and was preparing for a march on Naples when he was recalled to Rome. Negotiations were proceeding for the surrender of the city, and Mazzini, deeming it wiser in the interests of Rome, as the future capital of Italy, not to risk its destruction, gave up the city.

Garibaldi left Rome as the French entered it. He was uncertain whither to direct his steps. The story of his wanderings, accompanied by his faithful soldiers, reads more like the narratives we are accustomed to in the pages of romance. At length, unable longer to contend against the overwhelming forces of Austria, 900 of his men gave themselves up. Contrary to the conditions of surrender, they were immediately made prisoners and sent to Mantua, and many of them were flogged. Accompanied by some 300 of his band, Garibaldi broke through his guards. They reached the shore, embarked in fishing-boats, and were making towards Venice when they were pursued by the Austrian steamers. Two of the boats (Garibaldi being in one of them) gained the shore near Rimini. Now occurred one of the most pathetic passages in this brave soldier's history. His wife, Anita, was so ill and worn that she could not walk. Garibaldi, anxious for her safety, separated himself from his companions, and bore his faithful Anita in his arms. On the third day he knocked at the door of a peasant, and asked for water for her; he was in the very act of putting the reviving fluid to her lips when she expired. He afterwards reached Venice, from thence went to Genoa, next to Tunis and Gibraltar. Expelled from Gibraltar by the Governor, he took ship for Liverpool, and from that port sailed to the United States. In 1850 we find him tallow-candle making in a manufactory

on Staten Island; but the old instincts prevailed, and he shortly took to the sea, making several voyages to China and Australia. A few years later he was in England, visiting the Tyne. Chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Cowen, the inhabitants of Newcastle presented him with a sword and a telescope. In reply to this manifestation of sympathy, Garibaldi wrote:—"If ever England, your native country, should be so circumstanced as to require the help of an ally, cursed be that Italian who would not step forward with me in her defence! Your Government has given the autocrat a check and the Austrians a lesson; the despots of Europe are against you in consequence (this was in 1854). Should England at any time, in a just cause, need my arm, I am ready to unsheath in her defence the noble and splendid sword received at your hands."

Public order having been established in Sardinia, Garibaldi purchased the island of Caprera, where he settled down to farming pursuits. He also became a trader to Nice, and obtained the recognition of his rank in the Sardinian navy. Meanwhile, political events in Italy moved forward rapidly, and in April, 1859, Cavour sent for Garibaldi. The Sardinian generals scarcely knew what to make of a man who set at nought their arbitrary military rule; but King Victor Emmanuel, rightly understanding his character, said, "Go where you like; do what you like! I have only one regret—that I am not able to follow you." Then began Garibaldi's almost unexampled guerilla warfare. With his Alpine Chasseurs, numbering some 17,000 men, he fought a great number of engagements, captured Bergamo and Como, and at length drove the Austrians out of the lake country and from the foot of the Alps. The final results of the campaign are well known. The allied armies defeated the Austrians from the Po to the Ticino. Magenta and Solferino compelled the surrender of Lombardy. The Emperor Napoleon hesitating to carry the war further, the Austrian Emperor accepted the armistice offered to him. When the preliminaries of peace had been decided upon, Garibaldi tendered his resignation to Victor Emmanuel; but this not being accepted, the general decided upon carrying on the war in his own manner. After some months, dispirited in his efforts for Italian independence, Garibaldi oncemore tendered his resignation, and it was accepted, much to the indignation of the people.

But it was impossible for this ardent friend of freedom to remain quiescent, and proclamations from his hand followed each other in quick succession. He called for a national subscription and for a million muskets. So great was the magic of his name that a vessel reached Gibraltar having on board 23,500 guns, sent to Garibaldi by the American patriots. Early in the year 1860 he was once more upon the march, and on the 5th of May sailed from Genoa with a body of 2,000 men, whom he had induced to volunteer for the purpose of a descent upon Sicily. Reaching Talamara, he issued a proclamation as follows:—"Italy and Victor Emanuel!" that was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound into the very depths of Ætna. As the prophetic battle-cry re-echoes from the hills of Italy to the Tarpeian mount the tottering throne of tyranny will fall to pieces, and the whole country will rise like one man!" The Piedmontese Government disapproved of the expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure. In less than six months, however, it was successful; and the king, in an address to the people of Southern Italy, said, "The people were fighting for liberty in Sicily when a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me—General Garibaldi—sprang to their assistance. They were Italians; I would not, ought not, to restrain them." Garibaldi, who had assumed, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, the title of Dictator of Sicily, attacked Palermo with such energy and spirit that the Neapolitan troops, driven into the citadel, sued for an armistice. Melazzo surrendered to him on the 21st of June. After this victory the King of Sardinia urged Garibaldi to desist from further

operations against Naples until an opportunity could be afforded to Sicily of declaring her attachment to a united Italy. The victorious general replied, "Sir, your Majesty knows the high esteem and the devotion which I feel towards your Majesty; but such is the state of things in Italy that at the present moment I cannot obey your Majesty's instructions, much as I should like it. I am called for and urged on by the people of Naples. I have tried in vain, with what influence I had, to restrain them, feeling as I do that a more favourable moment would be desirable. But if I should now hesitate I should endanger the cause of Italy, and not fulfil my duty as an Italian; may your Majesty, therefore, permit me this time not to obey? As soon as I shall have done with the task imposed on me by the wishes of the people which groans under the tyranny of the Neapolitan Bourbon I shall lay down my sword at your Majesty's feet, and shall obey your Majesty for the rest of my lifetime." On the following day Garibaldi concluded a truce with the Neapolitans, who agreed to evacuate Sicily.

In August the Dictator had another success. Landing at Spartivento, he drove back the Neapolitan troops so far as to be able to command the navigation of the Straits, after which he set out for Reggio. On the 31st of the same month he formally accepted the title of Dictator of the Two Sicilies. The King of Naples immediately issued a manifesto against him to the Courts of Europe, describing him as "a daring *condottiero*," but admitting that the fortune of war had been with him. Sicily and various provinces had risen, and had formed provisional governments, confiding to the Dictator the authority over and the full arbitrament of their destinies. After issuing his proclamation, King Francis proceeded to Gaeta, where he resolved resolutely to oppose the further progress of Garibaldi. The royal troops, nevertheless, were defeated at Reggio and San Giovanni. The spirit of the Dictator may be gathered from an anecdote related of him during this campaign. A Sicilian leader having informed the general that ammunition was becoming very scarce, asked, "What shall we do?" "Go home, if you like," was the reply. "If you join me, you must learn to live without bread, and to fight without cartridges!" Garibaldi entered Naples on the 8th of September, and on the following day Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy. On the 10th, 25,000 Sardinian troops entered the Papal States, being followed by a similar number on the 11th. Garibaldi took possession of the Jesuit College at Palermo, and, having expelled its occupants, turned it into a school for all the ragged outcasts that were to be found in the streets. He also expelled the Jesuits from Naples, and declared the states of the Crown national property. The campaign in the Marches concluded with the capture of Ancona by the Garibaldians, when General Lamoricière surrendered, with the entire garrison, as prisoners of war. On the 1st of October the Garibaldians gained another victory over the troops of the King of Naples on the Volturno. A few weeks later Garibaldi published a proclamation to the effect that Naples ought to be incorporated with the Italian kingdom, and on the 21st the Neapolitans voted in favour of their union with the Sardinian States. The Sicilians passed a similar vote. Shortly afterwards Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met between Teano and Speranzano. A spectator of this scene writes:—"Seeing the red shirts, the king took a glass; and having recognised Garibaldi, gave his horse a touch of the spur and galloped to meet him. When ten paces distant the officers of the king and those of Garibaldi shouted, 'Viva, Victor Emmanuel!' Garibaldi made another step in advance, raised his cap, and added, in a voice which trembled with emotion, 'King of Italy!' Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, 'I thank you.'" Under such circumstances did the Italian patriot surrender his title of Dictator of the Two Sicilies. When the king entered



Naples with Garibaldi, the latter was the popular favourite. An Englishman who was present on the occasion of the visit to the shrine of St. Januarius, thus describes the two men:—"As the *evvivas* of the populace rang through the damp air, I thought Garibaldi seemed by far the more popular personage of the two, and I rejoiced that it was so. 'What born king on earth is as great as he in his sublime simplicity of character and spotless purity of intention?' I asked myself that day, and found no answer. The visit to the relics was soon over; then bold Victor Emmanuel strode down the middle aisle, his plain bluff features set in iron rigidity, never moving a muscle; and as Garibaldi walked close to him we had an excellent opportunity of comparison. Garibaldi, with his broad, thoughtful brow, deep-sunk clear eyes, in whose depths no shade of dishonest purpose ever lurked, and calm self-possessed demeanour; and the king, with his dragoon's stride and bold glance, with nothing beyond this particularly noticeable about him—these two men, the born king and the kingly subject, were indeed contrasts. Then, as Garibaldi walked down the aisle, the people literally rushed upon him, kissing him, and clasping the very hem of his red jacket like devotees; and then set up once more a wild shout as of long pent-up enthusiasm."

On the 9th of November in this year, 1860, Garibaldi left Naples to return to Caprera, and on the 27th his army was disbanded. Quiet ensued for a period, but in July, 1862, Garibaldi issued proclamations from Palermo to the Hungarians and the Italians, calling upon both to resist their oppressors. The former proclamation led to no result; but Garibaldi and a band of followers rose at Ficuzza, and crossed from Catania to the Calabrian coast. They were encountered on the 29th at Aspromonte by the royal troops, under Major-General Pallavicino. During the conflict both Garibaldi and his son were wounded, and negotiations were thereupon entered into. The general, suffering great pain, was conveyed to Spezzia, where a ball was extracted from his ankle by Professor Partridge, the eminent surgeon of King's College, who had been dispatched to Italy by Garibaldi's friends. In his own defence in connection with this disastrous affair, Garibaldi issued a proclamation, denying that he intended to engage with the troops of Victor Emmanuel, and laying all the blame of the affair upon the Rattazzi Government. It was, of course, impossible for the king to punish one who had rendered such signal services to the cause of Italian unity, and a decree of amnesty was accordingly passed on the 5th of October. Garibaldi was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies, but resigned his seat on the 7th of January, 1864, explaining to the electors of Naples his reasons for doing so. The cession of Nice had wounded him deeply; "but now that I see (he wrote) the shame of Sicily succeed to the sale of Nice—of Sicily, which I love to call the country of my adoption—I feel myself compelled to restore to you a trust which fetters my conscience, and renders me indirectly an accomplice of crimes which are not my own."

In April, 1864, Garibaldi paid a visit to England, and those who witnessed his reception in London witnessed a progress almost unparalleled in even royal annals. The number of persons gathered together in Whitehall, at Charing Cross, and in Pall Mall, to do honour to the Italian patriot, was probably in excess of any crowd which has upon any occasion assembled either in that or any other locality. The whole metropolis was *en fête*; and nearly four hours elapsed before the carriage of the Duke of Sutherland, in which Garibaldi was seated, could make its way from Nine Elms to Stafford House. The general remained ten days in London, and was the lion of many fêtes and demonstrations, chief amongst which was the monster demonstration at the Crystal Palace. He was presented with a sword by the

Italians in London, and with innumerable addresses from corporate bodies. The public enthusiasm was unexampled. Garibaldi left London for Italy somewhat unexpectedly on the 22nd, and his sudden departure gave rise to many rumours of a political and diplomatic character. The Duke of Sutherland conveyed the general in his own yacht to Caprera.

On the 11th of June, 1866, Garibaldi appeared at Genoa, his object being to enter upon a campaign against the Austrians. On the 3rd of the following month he attacked his old enemies at Monte Suello, but was wounded in the thigh and compelled to retire. Some days later he crossed over into the French district. He was again checked by the Austrians upon the Sora on July 22nd, but on the next day successfully encountered them. The war shortly afterwards ended, and he returned to Caprera. In the year 1867, Garibaldi—determined to strike another blow for the unity of Italy—re-opened the Roman question, and prepared to invade the Papal States. He was arrested at Asinalunga, however, on the 24th of September, by order of the Italian Government. He was ultimately permitted to return to Caprera, but, notwithstanding that he was vigilantly watched, contrived to escape from thence on the 14th of October. He speedily appeared in Florence, where he incited the people to join the insurgent bands already gathering on the Roman frontier. On the 26th he defeated the Papal troops at Monte Rotondo; but at Mentana, on the 4th of November, the Garibaldians were defeated, and obliged to capitulate to the united Papal and French forces. The same day Garibaldi was arrested at Figline, on his journey to Caprera, and carried to Spezzia. The general protested against this act, claiming the protection due to an Italian deputy and an American citizen; and the authorities, probably deeming him to be a difficult and a dangerous prisoner, owing to the sympathies of the people, released him in the course of a few days. The arrest led to a serious insurrection in Milan. He again retired to Caprera, whence he wrote in July, 1868:—"Our people, without abandoning the labour which preserves the body, should think of freeing their mind. For what kind of liberty is to be expected from a nation which every day falls down at the feet of priests, the pedestal of every tyranny, and the soldiers of the most atrocious of Italy's tyrants? I shall believe that our people mean freedom when I see the shop of St. Peter turned into an asylum for the indigent, when I see the flask of St. Januarius broken on the tonsured pate of the ludicrous sorcerer. Come what will, I shall die unhappy if, on the day you fight for Italy's liberty—which I hope will be soon—I cannot follow you, at least in an ambulance." In August, 1868, Garibaldi again resigned his seat as a deputy in the Italian Parliament. In 1870 he journeyed to France, and offered his services to the Government of the National Defence. He was nominated to a command in the Vosges, but, owing to a variety of circumstances, the Garibaldian troops were unsuccessful in the field, and on the 7th of January, 1871, they were defeated near Montbard by Colonel Von Dannenburg. In February Garibaldi was returned to the National Assembly by Paris and several of the departments, but he resigned his position as a deputy at the preliminary sitting of the Assembly at Bordeaux. With his life-long abhorrence of the priests, he said that "he loved the Republic, but hated the priesthood." He was returned to the Italian Parliament in 1874, and on taking his seat in January, 1875, received a most flattering ovation. A short time previously a national gift had been voted to him by the Chamber of Deputies, and his straitened pecuniary circumstances being matter of notoriety, donations showered in upon him from various parts of the world—many of which, however, he declined. In 1876 he accepted a donation of one hundred thousand lire, the gift of the King of Italy and of the Italian people.



On many occasions during the past three years the public press has published letters from Garibaldi upon the state of Europe and the work which still lies before Italy. Two of these express in brief his views upon these important questions. With regard to *Italia Irredenta*, he wrote as follows from Caprera, under date July 29th, 1878:—"The manifestations for *Italia Irredenta* emanate from the national sentiment against Austria gravitating continually towards a conspicuous portion of our enslaved brethren, and we ought to be glad if it proves that at the proper time the awakening of our country to the wiping out of the outrages of many centuries will be unanimous. When every Italian from seventeen to fifty years of age shall be able to hit a mark at 500 paces the question will be settled, and we hope for such a sublime result from the Government, assisted by the entire nation. . . . The present Government ought not to declare war against Austria, and with the breath of fictitious peace now blowing over Europe such a war-note would be disapproved. Inasmuch, however, as it is useless to hope for the accomplishment of Italian right from congresses and international arbitrations in an effectual way while despotic power prevails, it is well to inculcate on united Italians what a real fortune it will be for that generation of ours which shall be called to avenge the many injuries and disasters caused us by the two-headed eagle; and then, as Menotti says, an avalanche—of people, army, Government—will fulfil the sacred mission." Within a month of the date of this letter Garibaldi further wrote respecting the league of the three Emperors and "the situation:—" "The league of the three Emperors produces its natural fruits. The principal representative of despotism in the world, it has sought, by giving a taste of free thought, to put the peoples to sleep by means of its moral head, the great German Chancellor, who now, finding himself in perilous waters, throws away the mask and endeavours to caress his natural ally, the head impostor of the Vatican. To tell the peoples to mistrust the lying autocratic alliance is time wasted. . . . In the programme of the German Socialists which has recently appeared I see nothing that is horrible for the world. On the contrary, I find two articles which form part of the convictions I have held all my life, and the fulfilment of which is indispensable for the amelioration of the material and moral condition of the peoples. These articles are an uniform tax and the nation armed. One understands the reason why the Emperors do not care about that multitude of men whose mission will be not only to defend the country at need, but to constitute it by labouring in the fields and in the workshops. They naturally prefer the masses who obey their will like a sword in its swing. On our part, eminent men are not wanting to organise, under the auspices of liberty and justice, an opposition to the overwhelming tide of despotism and falsehood. We ought to have an anti-diplomatic congress at Paris, presided over by Victor Hugo."

We cannot close this biography without referring to two or three of the numberless anecdotes which are related, showing the nobility of Garibaldi's nature, his sympathy with and love for the human race, and the reasons for that extraordinary hold which he obtained over all with whom he came in contact. Garibaldi's strong feeling against the Austrians—through whom he lost his wife Anita—is well known. Yet when there was great distress in Austria, he said to certain visitors, "You might do me a great pleasure if you would. There is much distress at present in part of the Austrian dominions; I have sent them a hundred francs only: it is all I can afford. If you would but sell these things, and give the money to the poor people who want it so much, I should be very grateful to you." The gentlemen, who remembered the fearful death of Garibaldi's idolised wife, listened in astonishment, and at last said, "But they are Austrians!" "And is that the way in which you read Christ's

Gospel?" was the answer. "Did He not die for all, and has He not said that all mankind are brothers? If they have not a good government, the people ought rather to be pitied than blamed." His request was complied with, and the sufferers received two thousand francs from the sale. Visiting the hospital of the incurables at Naples, a touching scene occurred in one of the rooms. Garibaldi was stroking the feverish forehead of a young Venetian who had but a few hours to live, and asking him what he could do for him. "Don't forget my country," was the reply of the agonised youth. Another time Garibaldi, holding in his arms and fondly caressing a dying boy—notwithstanding all his usual self-control—burst into tears, exclaiming, "Can even liberty be worth all this?" Dr. Nélaton, the Emperor Napoleon's surgeon, who was sent on one occasion to give Garibaldi the benefit of his skill, was anything but an admirer of the renowned soldier. After his visit he said, "Garibaldi is not a soldier, he is a saint! I am sure he will work miracles; he has worked one already, for he has moved me deeply by his very smile, and that is a miracle." One who had been with all the Garibaldian commanders in action said: "The solemn calmness, the supreme bravery of Garibaldi I have seen in no other. The sentiment which prevails in him, and round which all other feelings concentrate, is love. He loves man individually and collectively—he loves humanity—he loves creation." At Naples, on one occasion, two men were quarrelling desperately. A third interposed, exclaiming, "Don't you know this is Garibaldi's day?" The combatants immediately threw down their knives, and embraced, crying, "*Viva Garibaldi!*" The *Times*' correspondent at Turin wrote:—"The sway Garibaldi holds over his own people is grounded on boundless faith and love; he is accustomed to have his absolute will worshipped, not disputed: nay, his most passing thought guessed and forestalled. Though the most affable and condescending of men, the distance between him and his most intimate friends is immense and never overstepped. None ever dare to offer him advice, none even to address him when his brow is set and he broods over his venturous schemes. The very spell of the man is in his silence, and when he opens his lips the watchword must be 'to hear and to obey.'"

Such is the man to whom Italy owes so deep a debt of gratitude: a man who, notwithstanding errors of judgment, remains one of the most widely revered and beloved, as well as one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century.

[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by Messrs. Maull & Co., London.]





From a photograph by W. Nadar Paris

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M. VICTOR HUGO.





## VICTOR HUGO.

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THIS ardent friend of liberty, and prince amongst living men of letters, was born at Besançon, on the 20th of February, 1802. He received the names of Victor Marie Hugo. His father, who was a gentleman of Lorraine, and whose ancestry had been noble for three hundred years, acquired a high reputation in the wars of the First Empire. From being a simple volunteer in the armies of Napoleon, he rose to the rank of general, and held important commands in Spain and Italy. A free-thinker in religion, he displayed much of that eccentricity which has since distinguished his illustrious son. He was commandant of the garrison at Besançon, and exhibited the most devoted loyalty to Napoleon. Victor Hugo's mother was a native of La Vendée—a name written with the indelible stain of blood in the history of France. She was a friend of Madame Bonchamp and Madame de la Rochejaquelein, and was a staunch Catholic and Royalist. Her son's early years were passed under her care, and his mind became tinged with her own Royalist and romantic sentiments. In his fifth year, however, he was conveyed to Avellino, in Calabria, where his father was governor, and thence he travelled through Florence, Rome, Naples, and back to Paris in 1809. His education began at the Convent of the Feuillantines, under private direction from a proscribed general. At the age of nine he was removed to Spain, residing in a seminary of nobles for a year; but scholarship amongst Spanish students being in a moribund condition, Victor Hugo returned, for a time, to the Convent of the Feuillantines. During the closing years of Napoleon's chequered career, General Hugo, probably foreseeing the evils that would beset France, determined to enter his son at the Polytechnic School. It was not by the sword, however, but by the pen, that the triumphs of the latter were to be won.

By the age of ten Victor Hugo began to lisp in numbers, and in 1816 he produced the tragedy of "Artamène," to celebrate the accession of Louis XVIII. The succeeding year—that is, at the age of fifteen—he contended for the annual prize of the Academy. His "Essay on the Advantages of Study" was confessedly superior to the lucubrations of all other competitors, but his judges persistently refused to believe that it was the work of one so young. During several successive years he wrote prize odes in connection with the Floral Games of Toulouse. It is said, notwithstanding, that his first meritorious efforts in verse were due to the inspiration of Lamartine. In 1822 he published his first volume of "Odes et Ballades." Princesses of the blood now compared him with the gods of song, and Chateaubriand further distinguished him by the epithet of "the sublime child." He received a pension in his twenty-first year, and married Mademoiselle Foucher, a young lady whom he met at his mother's house during his school-days. This lady, who was five years younger than her husband, was devotedly attached to the young poet.

Odes and ballads, romances, dramas, &c., now flowed from Victor Hugo's pen. Like Byron, he had become famous almost at a bound. But a radical change was approaching in his ideas. As one writer has remarked: "The errors of Charles X., his narrow-minded bigotry, his dreary



obstinacy, and complete want of common sense, brought Liberalism into fashion; and the impressionable mind of Victor Hugo was carried away by the strength of ideas which had seized upon all the intellect of France. Indeed, when the gorgeous phantoms of youth had been dispersed beneath the daylight of experience, when the fond recollection of his mother's dreams was fading from his mind, a man of Victor Hugo's clear intelligence could have seen little to revere in Charles or his predecessor." So, while the king offered to double his pension, Victor Hugo felt that his old Royalist faith was drifting from its moorings. He gradually fell into deeper and closer sympathy with the Opposition. Meanwhile—shortly before the political revolution of 1830—a literary revolution occurred, in which the subject of this biography took a prominent part. A band of young writers conceived the idea of regenerating French literature. They were all warm, imaginative, and daring, their spirits charged with the electricity of youth. They began by departing from the old classical models, and adopted in their poetry instead a varied and very irregular form of verse. The Alexandrines of the old school were deposed, and the new verse—which certainly could not be said to be open to the charge of monotony—speedily became popular. Victor Hugo was the leader of this new band, who made Art precisely conform to Nature, and, as it has been noted, "even brought into prominence things disagreeable, which Nature herself is displeased with, and teaches us to keep out of sight." "La Jeune France" this new school called themselves, though they were better known by the generic name of Romanticists, as opposed to their rivals and predecessors, the Classicists. A newspaper—*La Muse Française*—was started to support the opinions of the new school, and it was conducted by Victor Hugo. Much acerbity was manifested on both sides during this great literary controversy, which waged for several years. To the magazine of the poets succeeded a club—the "Cenacle"—which has been graphically described by Sainte-Beuve, who was himself a member. In 1827 appeared the first-fruits of this new poetic growth, in the shape of Victor Hugo's drama of "Cromwell." In the preface to this work—which was not intended to be performed—the author unfolded his views upon the dramatic art. In effect these views were that the stage is a reflex of society chiefly—a mirror, in which the public should see its image faithfully depicted. The drama was not bounded by tragedy alone, but comedy must render its share in the delineation of character. Racine and Corneille, the severe masters of the dramatic art, were to be improved upon. The pathetic and the humorous should move side by side, and, hand in hand, unite in giving a true representation of universal humanity. "Cromwell" was succeeded, in 1828, by "Les Orientales," a series of odes, containing much picturesque but not very profound writing; and in the next year appeared that striking narrative, "Les Derniers Jours d'un Condamné." Victor Hugo's first drama written for representation was "Marion Delorme." No work of its author has probably created greater differences of opinion than this. The Censorship forbade its production upon the stage, and in its fundamental or central idea it has by many been pronounced immoral. The poet set himself a very difficult and delicate task, and it may be doubted whether any living author could have acquitted himself so well. Regarded from a simply literary point of view, the drama is worthy of high praise. It was the unfolding of its author's power over the passions of the human heart. The drama was followed by "Hernani," and the king was requested by the Academy to suppress this work also, but he replied that "he should claim no right but a place in the pit to see it performed." It was produced in the year 1830, on the poet's birthday, and it remains to this day one of the popular plays of the Théâtre Français. The interdiction against "Marion Delorme" was withdrawn, and this drama also was produced upon the stage in the year next following the representation of "Hernani."

This extraordinarily prolific genius astonished and delighted the world by the publication of

"Notre Dame de Paris," in 1831. Of this romance we need say nothing; it has been continuously popular from the date of its publication until now. The author further added to his reputation, in 1831, by the issue of a volume of lyrical poems, entitled "Les Feuilles d'Automne." These poems are the result of moments of sweet and tender recollection—moments undisturbed by the distracting nature of public events. As Victor Hugo himself said: "The author feels, in abandoning this useless book to the popular wave, which bears away so many better things, a little of the melancholy pleasure one experiences in flinging a flower into a torrent and watching what becomes of it." On the 22nd of November, 1832, was produced the play of "Le Roi s'amuse." Indifferently received, on the second night it was suspended, by order of the Government, on the ground that a passage put into the mouth of Triboulet, the central character of the drama, reflected upon the king. The absurdity of the charge exasperated the author, who brought an action against the Minister for issuing the prohibition, with the usual result of actions against persons in similar authority. Victor Hugo was eloquent in his own defence, but his eloquence was in vain. We now regard with amazement the rapid emanations from our author's fertile brain. In 1833 appeared "Luerèce Borgia" and "Marie Stuart;" the "Étude sur Mirabeau," "Littérature et Philosophie," and "Le Rhin," in 1834; "Les Chants du Crépuseule" and "Angelo," in 1835; "Les Voix Intérieures," in 1837; "Ruy Blas," in 1838; "Les Rayons et les Ombres," in 1840; and "Les Burgraves," in 1843. Of these works, "Ruy Blas" is widely known in this country, and both this play and that of "Les Burgraves" are high examples of the dramatic art. We ought not to omit mention, also, of the two romances: "Bug-Jargal" and "Hans d'Islande."

In 1841 Victor Hugo was elected to a seat in the French Academy. Two years later a heavy domestic bereavement befell him. His daughter Léopoldine, and her husband Charles Vacquerie, to whom she had but recently been united, were drowned. In 1845 the poet was created a peer of France by Louis Philippe; but, apart from all political considerations, his living admirers and those in future ages will alike find it difficult to associate the name of Victor Hugo with the title of Count. With the Revolution of 1848 a new departure came. The poet was elected to represent the City of Paris both in the Constituent and the Legislative Assemblies. At this time his course of political action was somewhat dubious, but subsequently to the 10th of December he associated himself with the Party of Order in the Constituent Assembly. Being elected to the Legislative body, tenth among twenty-eight candidates for the Department of the Seine, he now began to manifest Democratic principles, and became one of the leaders and orators of the Left. He took part in the discussion of most public questions, his oratory being distinguished for its force and vehemence. At the time of the *Coup d'état* he was in strong antagonism to the Prince President, and was one of the members of the Extreme Left who were banished from France for life by Louis Napoleon. During his exile in Brussels, in 1852, he issued his satire, "Napoleon le Petit," a most powerful attack upon the ruler of his native country. Though banished, he could not be silent; and the terrible, fiery indignation of his spirit again found vent, in 1853, in "Les Châtiments." Probably, no stronger denunciations have ever been hurled at any human being than are here uttered against "the Man of December." The whole work is full of scathing phrases.

After his expulsion from France, Victor Hugo took refuge in Jersey; but here his stay was of brief duration. He was compelled to leave the island, together with other refugees, in consequence of certain difficulties which arose with the British Government. He afterwards settled down in Guernsey, and with this island his name has since been, and will continue to be, closely identified. In the solitude and calm of his new abode, and with a mind undisturbed

for a time by political complications, he gave himself up to literary work. In 1856 he published "Les Contemplations." This work was issued in Paris, and speedily went through several editions. It is "the lyrical record of twenty-five years. More than any other of Victor Hugo's collections of poetry, it holds as in a rocky chalice the gathered waters of his life." As he himself says: "The author has allowed this book to form itself, so to speak, within him. Life, filtering drop by drop through events and sufferings, has deposited it in his heart." In 1859 appeared the famous collection of poems, "La Légende des Siècles." This work is noticeable for its expansive imagination and its breadth of treatment. It was dedicated to France in that same year which witnessed the proclamation of an amnesty by the Emperor on the 15th of August. Victor Hugo refused to avail himself of the act of grace, and, in conjunction with Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, and others, he replied to the Imperial pardon by a counter manifesto. For this step he has been blamed by some, who have urged that it was his duty to have returned to France during the days of the Second Empire, and to have endeavoured to procure that amelioration of the condition of the people and the fruition of their hopes which was desired. But at this time Victor Hugo saw little prospect of the realisation of his own aspirations and of those who felt and acted with him. Some idea of the vast personal influence of this man may be gathered from such language as the following, which has been used concerning him:—"Had Victor Hugo stood forward, as he was morally bound to do, the fatal day of Sadowa might never have happened, the disastrous Ministry of M. Emile Ollivier would have been impossible, and France could have been spared the overwhelming ruin which fell upon her when absolutely abandoned to the counsels and government of the feeblest mediocrity." Sanguine as these speculations may appear, they at least serve to show the high esteem in which the poet was held, and the weight attached to his individual will and example.

The year 1862 marked another epoch in his literary career by the publication of the celebrated romance "Les Misérables." This work appeared simultaneously in Paris, London, Brussels, New York, Madrid, Berlin, Turin, and St. Petersburg; and, by way of showing its extraordinary popularity, it is stated that no fewer than one hundred and fifty thousand copies of it were sold in one year. It has been said of this romance that "it contains in dilution more colossal imagery than anything we have had in Europe since the 'Divine Comedy.'" The detractors of Hugo may complain of its wordiness and of the apparently aimless frittering away of the author's great powers, but in this, as in other works by the same hand, the light of genius plays over the page, and we cannot but feel an admiration for the imagination which is equal to such conceptions. If there is much waste, there are yet veritable jewels to be discovered in the waste. In 1865 was published "Les Chansons des Rues et des Bois." These songs are the amusing recreations of a great spirit and the representation of its lighter moods. They were followed, in 1866, by a work of a very different type: "Les Travailleurs de la Mer," which has been compared with the "Prometheus" of Æschylus. There is little of story or plot here, but the author has devoted himself to the great contest between his hero and the powers of Nature. Probably, in the whole range of literature there is nothing more graphic than the account of Gilliatt's battle with the devil-fish. A critic in the *British Quarterly Review* observes: "This is St. George and the Dragon over again; and you might as well blame Ariosto, or Dante, or great mediæval painters and sculptors, for their innumerable elaborate creations of such monstrous objects as blame the modern, who has, by his study of modern science, seen and restored much that our ancestors conceived. The *Pieuvre*, moreover, is an ugly symbol of the evil spiritual powers with which man contends. For the rest, Hugo may

revel in his strength of creation in this region, as Ariosto and Dante revelled before him, as the builders, too, of our great Gothic cathedrals revelled in their gargoyles and hobgoblins. But before we quit this romance, observe the perfect unity of it as a work of art. The same is true of 'Notre Dame de Paris.' In that we can only draw attention to the supple, brilliant gipsy-girl, Esmeralda, and her goat, which we think must have suggested Fedalma to George Eliot, as the wonderful Anzoletto of George Sand must have suggested Tito." In the romance we have been discussing, the career of Gilliatt is also important from the social and philosophical aspects. It is a dissertation upon the dignity, duty, and power of labour. The author has not only given us the hero of romance, but the hero of reality.

In 1869 Victor Hugo published that strange and grotesque romance, "*L'Homme qui Rit*;" and again, in August of the same year, he rejected the renewed amnesty offered him by Napoleon. Ten years had wrought in him no signs of relenting; and when he was pressed by his friend, M. Felix Pyat, to accept the amnesty, he replied, "*S'il n'en reste qu'un, je serai celui-là*" ("If there remain only one, I will be that one"). He attacked the Plébiscitum most strongly and energetically, and was again prosecuted for inciting to hatred and contempt of the Imperial Government. At length came the disaster of Sedan and the fall of the Empire. Victor Hugo now hastened back to France, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by his friends of the revolutionary Government instituted on the 4th of September, 1870. He at once joined in the Republican movement, and issued a proclamation to the German nation, inviting them to imitate the example of France by declaring a Republic. In November of the same memorable year he declined to offer himself as a candidate at the general election of the Mayors of Paris, and during the insurrectionary outbreak in Paris he repudiated the use of his name by the Committee of Public Safety. In February, 1871, however, he was returned to the National Assembly (which sat at Bordeaux), having been chosen deputy for the Department of the Seine by 214,169 votes. His name was second on a list of forty-three candidates. His proceedings in the Assembly were another proof of the fact that the new deputy's line of conduct could never be mapped out on the ordinary lines. He was opposed to the Peace, which he stigmatised in strong terms, and he also voted against the preliminary negotiations with the Germans. In the end, being disgusted with the course of affairs, he resigned his seat in the Assembly. Shortly after this event, which occurred on the 8th of March, he was plunged into the deepest grief by the death of his favourite son, whose body was brought to Paris for interment. The day of the funeral, the 18th of March, witnessed the coincidence of the outbreak of the Communist revolt. During the terrible period which now supervened, Victor Hugo remained in Paris, endeavouring to calm the maddened passions of the Communists. He also vainly tried to preserve the column in the Place Vendôme from destruction. Sickened in heart, and despairing for the moment of the future of his country, he next went to Brussels. During his stay in this city, he offered shelter to the soldiers of the Commune, whereupon the Belgian Government expelled him from the country. He was compelled to seek refuge in Vianden, a village of Luxemburg, where "*L'Année Terrible*" was composed. We find him, however, back in Paris when the trial of the Communist chiefs was over. He pleaded earnestly with M. Thiers for the pardon of the condemned men, but without effect. His generosity of feeling has been abundantly conspicuous all through his life. An account of his career will be found in "*Actes et Paroles*," written in 1870-72. Once again he was adopted by the Radical press as a candidate for the City of Paris—viz., at the election of the 7th of January, 1872; but he refused to accept the imperative mandate which

his constituents desired to impose upon him, and offered to accept, in lieu of it, a "Mandat Contractuel." He was defeated on this occasion, receiving 95,600 votes. In 1872 he founded a cheap democratic newspaper, called *Le Peuple Souverain*. A collection of his speeches was published in the year 1875.

"L'Année Terrible," published in 1872, may be described as an imaginative diary of the history of Paris from August, 1870, to July, 1871. In this work, says one of the latest of Victor Hugo's critics, Professor Dowden, Victor Hugo "is a Frenchman throughout, not a man of the Commune nor a man of Versailles. The most precious poems of the book are those which keep close to facts rather than concern themselves with ideas. The sunset seen from the ramparts; the floating bodies of the Prussians borne onward by the Seine, caressed and kissed and still swayed on by the eddying water; the bomb which fell near the old man's feet while he sat where had been the Convent of the Feuillantines, and where he had walked in under the trees in Aprils long ago, holding his mother's hand; the petroleuse, dragged like a chained beast through the scorching streets of Paris; the gallant boy who came to confront death beside his friends—memories of these it is which haunt us when we have closed the book—of these, and of the little limbs and transparent fingers, and baby-smile, and murmur like the murmur of bees, and the face changed from rosy health to a pathetic paleness of the one-year-old grandchild, too soon to become an orphan." Others regard the work as merely first-class political writing in verse, but through the whole there again breathes the spirit of the author, with his energy, his passion, his love of freedom, his hatred of oppression and the oppressor.

"Quatre-Vingt-Treize" was published in 1874. It is eminently striking for its realism and the large and sympathetic manner in which its characters are conceived and drawn. It may well be entitled, as it has been, the epic of the Revolution. It has also been said that there is nothing more magnificent in modern literature than the last volume of this work. Some general observations upon Hugo's method, from a source we have already acknowledged, may well be extracted here:—"The colossal scale on which the master loves to work is most characteristic; the breadth of his touch, the rapidity and profusion of his style—a profusion as of starry worlds, a style resembling waves of the sea, sometimes indeed weltering dark and massive, but ever and anon flashing with the foamy lightning of genius. The finish and rich accurate perfection of our own great living poet, Tennyson, are absent. Hugo is far more akin to Byron, but his range is vaster than Byron's. He has Byron's fierce satire, and more than Byron's humour, though it is the fashion to generalise and say that the French have none. He is both a lyrical and epic poet. He is a greater dramatist than Byron; and whether in the dramas or prose romances, he shows that vast sympathy with, and knowledge of, human nature which neither Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, nor Wordsworth had. Scott could be his only rival. In France they had lived dramatic lives for the last ninety years; we have lived much more quietly in England, and in France there is a real living drama." When the charge of extravagance made against his works, both in form and substance, has been admitted, Victor Hugo remains the greatest literary phenomenon of the nineteenth century; while regarded as a lyric poet alone, his native country furnishes neither his superior nor indeed, perhaps, his equal.

To the romance last named succeeded "Les Hommes de l'Exil, précédés de Mes Fils," published in 1875, as well as minor pieces; then "Le Pape;" while the years 1877-78 have further witnessed the issue of "L'Histoire d'un Crime," the latest work of this voluminous writer. A translation of it has also appeared in England. It possesses special interest from its auto-

biographic character, and, like many of its predecessors, it is instinct with energy and passion. In his preface to the history, the author says: "This work is more than opportune; it is imperative. I publish it." Then we have this note:—"This work was written twenty-six years ago at Brussels, during the first months of exile. It was begun on the 14th December, 1851, and on the day following the author's arrival in Belgium, and was finished on the 5th of May, 1852, as though chance had willed that the anniversary of the death of the first Bonaparte should be countersigned by the condemnation of the second. It is also chance which, through a combination of work, of cares, and of bereavements, has delayed the publication of this history until this extraordinary year, 1877. In causing the recital of events of the past to coincide with the events of to-day, has chance had any purpose? We hope not. As we have just said, the story of the *Coup d'état* was written by a hand still hot from the combat against the *Coup d'état*. The exile immediately became an historian. He carried away this crime in his angered memory, and he was resolved to lose nothing of it: hence this book. The manuscript of 1851 has been very little revised. It remains what it was, abounding in details, and living, it might be said bleeding, with real facts. The author constituted himself an interrogating judge; all his companions of the struggle and of exile came to give evidence before him. He has added his testimony to theirs. Now history is in possession of it: it will judge. If God wills, the publication of this book will shortly be terminated. The continuation and conclusion will appear on the 2nd of December. An appropriate date."

Victor Hugo has made frequent appearances before the French public in connection with the agitation of political and other questions. His influence in the International Literary Congress, held at Paris in the middle of the year 1878, was supreme. The Congress accepted as the basis of its decisions a speech, in which he urged that a book once published becomes in part the property of society, and that after its author's death his family have no right to prevent its re-issue. He contended that a publisher should be required to declare the cost and the selling price of any book he intended to bring out, that the author's heirs should be entitled to five or ten per cent. of the profit, and that, in default of heirs, the profit should revert to the State, to be applied to the encouragement of young writers. On the occasion of the Voltaire Centenary, held in Paris in May, 1878, Victor Hugo presided, and delivered a powerful and impassioned oration upon the aims and the accomplished work of Voltaire. Unable to take the chair, as he had intended, at the working men's meeting in favour of international arbitration, held in Paris on the 25th of August, 1878, Victor Hugo sent a communication signifying his adhesion to the movement.

Some of his latest utterances on other topics have been marred by a growing extravagance and eccentricity scarcely worthy of the author whose long and brilliant series of works we have just recapitulated. We may turn, however, with pleasure from these effusions to an interesting sketch of this great French writer which has recently been published by M. Gustave Rivet. At his residence, Hauteville House, Guernsey, says M. Rivet, he led a retired life, but one marked by his usual kindness and benevolence. He organised what he called "The Poor Children's Repast," twice a week, to which he invited the poorest little ones, and gave them excellent roast beef and good wine to strengthen them. The number of guests rose from twenty-five to fifty. When in Paris, he reserved a room in his house for the use of any literary person in temporary distress; this hospitality lasted two, three, or even six months. The sheltered one, during his sojourn, had not to trouble himself for anything material; he had his room free, and his place at table with the poet. Amongst



those who availed themselves of this assistance were Gerard de Nerval and Edward Ourline; and on one occasion Balzac was also for some time a guest. Victor Hugo has a special talent for organising Christmas parties, and is never happier than when surrounded by his grandchildren. He mingles in all their games, and even shares their troubles and their punishments. When his favourite little grandchild is put on dry bread for bad conduct, the grandfather is so unhappy that he will take no dessert. His pleasures are as simple as his mind is great. On one occasion, a poor old woman was so delighted with the beautiful poetry of her grandson, aged eighteen, that in the fulness of her heart she sent his verses to Victor Hugo. The poet thus spoke of this incident to a friend: "In spite of myself, I must hurt this worthy woman's feelings by not replying to her letter; the verses of her grandson are simply mine, taken from 'Les Contemplations.' I can't anyhow write and say I find my own verses beautiful; I can't encourage plagiarism; and I won't tell the grandmother that her grandson is a liar." M. Rivet warmly contradicts the statement that Victor Hugo is an infidel; on the contrary, he is a firm believer in God and in a future state. Though rapidly approaching his octogenarian period, it is the poet's habit to rise with the day, summer and winter, and to work till nine. He then allows himself an hour's rest for breakfast and his morning constitutional, after which he again sits at his desk, mostly pursuing his intellectual labours till five in the afternoon. Work having concluded for the day, he dines at half-past six, and invariably retires to rest at ten. His geniality to tourists has frequently laid him open to abuse in this respect. Only a year or two ago, when speaking of his future works, the poet said: "I shall have more to do than I have already done. One would think that with age the mind weakens; with me it appears, on the contrary, to grow stronger. The horizon gets larger, and I shall pass away without having finished my task." When this inevitable event arrives, the record will be that few authors have added so largely to the imperishable treasures of French literature as Victor Hugo.

[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Nadar, Paris.]







a photograph by M<sup>r</sup> L. Joliet, 350, Rue St. Honoré, Paris.

PAUL PETER & SONS, LITH. LON.

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

## MARSHAL MACMAHON.

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THERE are few names in the history of France of more marked significance than that of MacMahon. Little is known of the world at large as to the man who has been called Marshal of France, but the reason is not far to seek. He has played a great part in recent history, without himself being great, except in a very secondary and subordinate sense. The grand circumstances of his time and country placed him in a position of unexampled difficulty. However true it is that he was wholly deficient in those intellectual endowments which are absolutely indispensable in those who are called upon to cope with novel and distracting emergencies. Instead of ruling the storm he was blown by the storm. He became the victim of political changes which he had neither the energy to soothe nor the firmness to resist. "Beware of the God of Society!" urged the voice of the three monarchists, when the Republic was born, with all that is implied in that phrase. *MacMahon* was the man who was to be the first to thundered Gambetta, as the Republic was born. Never was a man more awkwardly placed. He was caught between the two great powers of the Republic, the one peril, the other fraught with danger. He was to be the champion of the Republic, and in their interest, they had combined to depose him. Thiers, the leader of the Republic, such sacrifices must not go to the Republic. But which of the three great powers was to be the beneficiary? Clearly not the Republic. There could not be the king of France, the bloodiest and most successful of the Republic, and the Republic, on the other hand, was he humbly to submit to the Republic, the fact of the Republic, the majority of Frenchmen in the Republic believed he had been the Republic, the Republic, the problem was insoluble. In keeping the country from the Republic, the state of anxiety, "MacMahon" not only submitted, but resigned, the end of the "Marshalle." The Republic, his fall is still so fresh in the public mind that it is unnecessary at this stage to say to it further than to remark that it was a tragedy, that it will in all probability be found to be irretrievable. He is the one person who always happens, it is sure, but it would take something like a miracle to rescue the public career of the Ex-President of the Republic. Events have rendered him powerless for future good or evil.

Yet the career of this man is not without interest, as it has not been without honor. His virtues are his own, and the errors he has committed are in a great measure to be attributed to the faults of early training and associations rather than to a general perversity of character. A staunch Catholic, a legitimist nobleman, a barrack-room politician, how was it to be expected that he was to understand the needs or aspirations of modern France?



## MARSHAL MACMAHON.

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THERE are few, if any, contemporary men of mark regarding whose actual personality so little is known by the world at large as is the case with Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice Macmahon, Duke of Magenta, Marshal of France, Ex-President of the French Republic. The reason is not far to seek. He has played a great part in recent history without himself being great, except in a very secondary and subordinate sense. The cruel circumstances of his time and country placed him in a position of unexampled difficulty. Honest and brave, he was wholly deficient in those intellectual endowments which are absolutely indispensable in those who are called upon to cope with novel and distracting emergencies. Instead of ruling the storm he was ruled by the storm. He became the sport of political factions, which he had neither the dexterity to soothe nor the firmness to control. "Become a Saviour of Society!" urged the leaders of the three Monarchical sections of the Legislature, with all that is implied in that ominous phrase. "*Il faudra ou se soumettre ou se démettre!*" thundered Gambetta, as the spokesman of the Republicans. Never was unfortunate ruler more awkwardly placed. Here there were no "three courses" open—only two: the one full of peril, the other fraught with humiliation. He was the nominee of the united monarchical parties, and in their interest, as a man of honour, was he bound to act. To elevate him they had combined to depose the illustrious Thiers, the liberator of the soil of France. Such sacrifices must not go unrewarded. But which of the three monarchical parties was to be the beneficiary? Clearly all could not. There could not be three kings of France: the bloodiest and most successful *coup d'état* could not realise such a result. On the other hand, was he humbly to walk in the Republican footsteps of the eminent man whom the majority of Frenchmen in their hearts believed he had shamefully betrayed? From the first the problem was insoluble, and after keeping the country for many months in a feverish state of anxiety, "Macmahon I." not only submitted, but resigned also, before the end of the "Marshalate." The memory of his fall is still so fresh in the public mind that it is unnecessary at this stage to allude to it further than to remark that it was complete, and that it will in all probability be found to be irretrievable. It is "the unexpected that always happens," to be sure, but it would take something like a miracle to re-open the public career of the Ex-President of the Republic. Events have rendered him powerless for future good or evil.

Yet the career of this man is not without interest, as it has not been without honour. His virtues are his own, and the errors he has committed are in a great measure to be attributed to the faults of early training and associations rather than to any native perversity of character. A staunch Catholic, a Legitimist nobleman, a barrack-room politician: how was it to be expected that he was to understand the needs or aspirations of modern France?

No man in practice can rise higher than his theoretical ideal, and Macmahon has, on the whole, been true to his. The France of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité—peaceful, progressive, liberal France—is to him a sealed book. Only a mind of great native force could have risen superior to antecedents such as were those of le Comte de Macmahon. Pride of faith and pride of birth are things hard for ordinary flesh and blood to overcome.

The Marshal, as his name so clearly indicates, is of Irish extraction on the paternal side. The first of his ancestors who settled in France followed the fortunes of the last of the Stuarts in 1689, for the sake of his religion and his king, and ever since then the traditions of the family have ranged them on the side of despotic authority, whether in religion or in politics. The Irish Jacobite of 1689 lives in the French Legitimist of 1879. The father of the Marshal was one of the personal friends of Charles X., a peer of France, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom under the restored monarchy. While the "king enjoyed his own again" it fared well, as may readily be supposed, with his immediate followers. Macmahon, senior, had a very large family, and their interests were not neglected. A Montmorency, Rohan, or Macmahon had but to ask and it was given. The great military school at St. Cyr swarmed with young aristocrats, the Government of the day, naturally enough, deeming it good policy to officer the army with the cadets of noble houses, who would have a direct interest in maintaining privileged authority. Accordingly, thither young Macmahon was sent in 1825, in his seventeenth year, having been born at Sully, near Autun, in the department of Saône-et-Loire, in 1808. He found the place purged from all taint of plebeian *camaraderie*, and with the old revolutionary and Bonapartist leaven completely extruded. Nothing remained but the bluest of blue blood, combined with the most extravagant devotion to Royalty.

But the Revolution, though crushed, was not dead. It still had its defenders in the Press, fighting doggedly against the reaction, fighting almost as frequently with rapier as with pen; and it was from members of this irrepressible school of militant journalism that the more ardent of the St. Cyrians were wont from time to time to seek "satisfaction" for their wounded feelings, whenever they chose to imagine that the royal cause had been unceremoniously handled. Macmahon's earliest military recollections are, consequently, of duels with Liberal journalists, of whom fiery little Adolphe Thiers was not the least frequently "out." Throughout life the Press has appeared to Macmahon's eyes a hydra-headed monster of disorder, to be crushed on every suitable occasion.

From this unfortunate seminary of military instruction the adolescent officer speedily passed into one that can hardly be regarded as more salutary. He sought and obtained active service in Algeria, then, and at all times, a province where officers of the French army have been wont to learn deplorable lessons in tyranny and disregard for the rights of civilians. In the face of the enemy Macmahon has ever shown a personal intrepidity worthy of his chivalrous descent. At the end of the expedition in 1830 he was decorated for his conspicuous bravery in the field, and the following year he returned to France with the rank of lieutenant.

It may here be noted that the Revolution of 1830, which seated the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family on the throne of France for a period of eighteen years, found the future Duke of Magenta, though still in heart owing allegiance to the elder branch of the royal house, by no means so irreconcilably wedded to Legitimist principles as to prevent him from taking the oath of allegiance to the new régime. In truth, with all his attachment

to Conservatism, the Marshal has never permitted his abhorrence of Liberalism to stand in the way of his professional promotion. He swore allegiance to the Republic of '48, which made him a general in its army, and he came under similar obligations of fidelity to the Second Empire, which made him a Marshal of France. Whatever he may be in theory, in practice he has uniformly shown himself a believer not in governments *de jure* but in governments *de facto*; and in this respect his conduct is in sharp contrast to that of his high-souled successor in the Presidency of the Republic, M. Jules Grévy, whom no power on earth could ever induce to disavow for a moment the Republican convictions of his youth.

But to resume the record of the Marshal's military achievements. In 1833 he acted as aide-de-camp to General Achard at the siege of Antwerp, and for his services on that occasion he was rewarded with a captaincy in his twenty-fifth year. In 1837 he was the first to mount the breach at the assault of Constantine, where he was wounded. At times his personal gallantry has partaken of the character of recklessness. On one occasion the colonel of his regiment happening, with an inconsiderable escort, to get separated from the main body of the army, General Changarnier ordered Macmahon to take a squadron of horse and carry instructions to the detached party through an immense cloud of Arabs, "They are either too few or too many," said the gallant young man promptly: "too many to pass unseen, too few to beat the enemy. I will go alone." And alone he went on his dangerous mission. At the assault on the Malakoff his courage was still more conspicuous, and perhaps, from a strategic point of view, less praiseworthy, for before that notable feat of arms M. de Macmahon had been made a general, as has been said, by the Republican Government of 1848, and deeds of daring which may be commendable in a subaltern are often susceptible of a very different interpretation when performed by an officer in high command. As it was, the audacity of the general was crowned with complete success; if it had been otherwise, his disobedience to superior orders might have brought his military career to a sudden and unpleasant end. After an incessant bombardment, which had lasted for three days, the allied army, at noon on the 8th of September, 1855, advanced to the assault of Sebastopol. The French stormed in three columns, under Macmahon, Lamotte-Rouge, and Dulac respectively. To the first was assigned the duty of seizing on the Malakoff, the key of the fortifications of that long-beleaguered city. The Russians did not expect the attack, and at first fell into confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and recognising the vast strategic importance of the position from which they had been dislodged, they repeatedly exerted the most heroic efforts to recover it. The carnage was so appalling that twice Pelissier ordered a retreat. "Let me alone! I am master of my own skin! J'y suis, j'y reste!" shouted the general, with the lightning of battle in his eye and the fury of combat in his voice. If this was not in accordance with the strict rules of the service, and therefore not war, it may be allowed to have been grand, especially when it is added that in society the Marshal is a somewhat shy and silent man, who finds himself more at home in the company of children than of philosophers or statesmen. He is an excellent general of division, but nothing more. He is at home in the atmosphere of the barrack-room, but neither in the Legislature nor in the tented field has he ever evinced the smallest sign of capacity for supreme command. His mind is totally deficient in initiative and incapable of those rapid combinations which constitute great generalship.

Like Moltke and Grant, he is a silent man; but, unlike the former, he is not "silent in a dozen languages," and, unlike the latter, he is devoid of that superlatively sound



common sense which, in the conduct of civil affairs, is almost indistinguishable in its effects from genius. Even in military matters he is inferior to Faidherbe, for example, in professional attainments, though his acquaintance with the history of warlike operations and tactics is respectable enough. Unfortunately that is, generally speaking, his only solid acquirement. The Marshal is consequently a sort of *homo unius libri*. When he would apply his mind to the art of civil government, military art seems exclusively present with him. In 1864 he was made Governor-General of Algeria, and, with the best intentions, a worse governor the colony never had. He set himself to the task of establishing a kind of dependent or vassal North African kingdom, governed by military law. At the end of six years the experiment was a complete and disastrous failure. The natives perished of famine by thousands, while many of the French colonists in despair emigrated to Brazil. Even with the Archbishop of Algeria, M. Lavigerie, the Marshal contrived to foment a deadly quarrel. Macmahon treated the civil population as if they were an ill-disciplined regiment which it was necessary to lick into shape by severe drill. It would of course not do, and oftener than once, when a dead lock had been reached, he was constrained to tender his resignation. "Anyone," Cavour maintained, "can govern with a state of siege;" but twice has M. de Macmahon found the aphorism break down in practice: first in Algeria on a small scale, and subsequently in France on a great. Well may the Marshal complain with Hamlet of the "accursed spite" which ever laid on him the task of "setting right" the affairs of other men. If he had been a wise man, his Algerian experience would have warned him of his total incapacity as a ruler of men.

On the battle-field or nowhere it is the Marshal's fortune to shine. At the battle of Magenta, in the Italian campaign of 1859, the star of his fame reached its zenith. On that day his impetuous valour saved France from a crushing defeat and the Emperor from certain captivity, if not death. The gross incapacity of Napoleon, combined with the tardy movements of Canrobert, had enabled the Austrians, under General Giulay, after four hours' desperate fighting, to drive the French troops before them with heavy loss. The Emperor and his body-guard were all but hopelessly surrounded, when, at the very nick of time, Macmahon appeared on the scene, where, according to his instructions, he was not required to be. But hearing the roar of the cannon, and divining the danger of the situation, he abandoned the position assigned him, and pushing rapidly forward, fell on the Austrians with irresistible force at the very moment when victory was within their grasp. Of 7,000 Austrian prisoners, 5,000 were taken by Macmahon's division. He immediately received the baton of a Marshal of France, was made Duke of Magenta, and entered Milan, which the Austrians were compelled to abandon, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of an immense multitude. At the subsequent decisive battle of Solferino he commanded the centre, and at the end of the war no officer in the service stood so high in the esteem of military circles.

In 1861 Macmahon was raised to the dignity of an Imperial senator, and some years later he gave a striking illustration of his independence of character in that capacity—his solitary exhibition of civil courage. When, in that year, General Lespinasse as Minister of the Interior brought in his odious law *de sûreté générale*, Macmahon voted against it, and he voted alone. Hence it has been alleged, and for other trifling manifestations of a spirit not wholly conformable with jealous Imperialism, the Governorship of Algeria was subsequently devolved on him. There he was vainly striving to govern on absolutely military principles when the Franco-German war recalled him to struggle with difficulties yet more insurmountable.

Hitherto the Marshal had been ever victorious in the field; now it was his fortune to

learn something of the bitterness of defeat. A more skilful, numerous, and better appointed foe than he had ever yet met was now ready to encounter the hero of the Malakoff and Magenta. He was appointed to the command of the First Army Corps, with his head-quarters at Strasbourg. On the 4th of August, 1870, General Abel Douay, with an advanced division of this force, 9,000 strong, was surprised and routed by the Germans at Wissenbourg, Donay himself being among the slain. Nor was the invader slow in following up his victory. On the 6th the Crown Prince fell on the Marshal between Woërrth and Reichshoffen, with a force 75,000 strong. The French army mustered only 35,000 men, and it was clearly the Marshal's duty to retreat in the face of such odds. Howbeit, the Emperor "desired a victory," and the general did his best to comply with his wishes. From seven in the morning till five in the afternoon the battle raged. Eventually the French positions were turned at two points, and the centre and right broken to pieces. General Michel's Brigade of Cuirassiers strove with unexampled devotion to cover the retreat, and were mowed down almost to a man. Six thousand French dead strewed the field of battle, while 4,000 prisoners, thirty-six cannons, and two standards fell into the enemy's hands. The line of the Vosges was thus lost, and the fugitive force fell back in the greatest confusion on Châlons. In this battle Maemahon has been justly accused of sacrificing "*la prévoyance du général au point d'honneur du soldat*," and it is difficult to excuse the stubbornness which made him cling so long to positions which the vast numerical superiority of the enemy rendered it impossible for him ultimately to maintain. "*J'y suis, j'y reste!*" is an heroic maxim, but it is not well to apply it in all circumstances. At the battle of Reichshoffen the Marshal displayed the qualities of a good general of division, but nothing higher. The hecatombs of the slain are said to have filled his mind with unavailing grief and horror.

At Châlons the new Minister of War, Count Palikao, had got together a large but undisciplined force. There Marshal Maemahon arrived before dawn on the 17th with the miserable remains of the First Army Corps. A Council of War was at once held, composed of the Emperor, Prince Napoleon, the Duke of Magenta, and Generals Trochu and Schmitz. Trochu was appointed military Governor of Paris, and left at once for his post. A few days later a proclamation was transmitted to Paris in the following terms:—"Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. Marshal Maemahon, Duke of Magenta, is named Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces composing the army of Châlons, and of all those that are or which shall be formed under the walls of Paris or in the capital." The Marshal was thus entrusted with supreme command, and his sound advice was to fall back under the fortifications of Paris, so as to give the provinces time to organise strenuous opposition to the inevitable Prussian advance on the capital. Palikao at once telegraphed to the Emperor the strong disapproval of the Empress-Regent, who, in the interest of the dynasty, urged on the Emperor the ruinous scheme of attempting to succour Bazaine. The Duke of Magenta weakly yielded to the importunate clamour of the Empress, who had now become the ruling mind, and commenced the fatal march which culminated at Sedan. He had no heart in the business, as might have been expected from a man assenting to a wrong course when he knew the right; he performed with tardy diffidence what demanded above all things rapid execution. He discharged his duties mechanically, like one in a dream. The day of trial found him without any plan of battle, with no objective, and with no line of retreat. Fortunately for him, he was so severely wounded in the thigh at an early stage of the conflict that the humiliating duty of surrendering at discretion to the enemy fell upon others. General Wimpffen did

what a gallant soldier could to save the honour of the French arms, but with little avail. The situation was from the first irretrievable.

How far Marshal Maemahon was to blame for this crowning disaster will always remain a matter of dispute. It is certain that he repeatedly protested against the plan of campaign, if plan it can be called. He acted by the orders of others—by the orders of an imbecile junto of ultra-Bonapartists, presided over by a woman, whose first and last thought was not of the peril of France, but of the Napoleonic dynasty. Maemahon stood at the parting of the ways, and he blindly allowed himself by utterly insufficient considerations to be led the wrong way. It required no profound sagacity to discern that whoever was to rule France, authority was destined to pass from the hands of the Bonapartes. The dynasty might pass away, but the nation would remain. In his loyalty to a family he was unfaithful to the people, for whom it was in his power to have acted with effect. The hour came but not the man. There was no heroism because there was no true hero—only a well-meaning puzzle-headed general of division looking for supreme direction from persons as incompetent to advise as himself or even more so. What would not a Cromwell, or even a Monk, have made of such opportunities? He would have discerned between the living cause and the dead, and thrown all his energies on the side of the living.

Taken prisoner, Maemahon was by special permission of the Prussian King allowed to reside at the pleasant little village of Pourru-aux-Bois on the Belgian frontier till his wound was healed. Thereafter he voluntarily shared the captivity of his comrades in arms taken at Sedan, and was interned at Wiesbaden till the conclusion of peace.

On his return to Paris in March, 1871, he found Thiers struggling with a giant's strength to bring order out of the overwhelming chaos into which his beloved country had been plunged. Paris, alarmed at the reactionary proceedings of the Bordeaux Assembly, and dreading a return to Legitimacy, stood at bay with arms in her hands denying the National Sovereignty and thus retarding the evacuation of French soil by the foreign enemy. Versailles and the Commune were about to close in a terrible death-grapple. "The soldier without fear and without reproach," as M. Thiers graciously styled the unfortunate Marshal, was at once put at the head of the national forces with instructions to reduce the capital to submission. He accepted the melancholy task with an effusive gratitude, which, read in the light of his subsequently assenting to supplant his benefactor as Chief of the Executive Power, it is hard to regard as having been very deeply seated. What need to relate the ghastly sequel? After two months of civic bloodshed and eight days' street fighting the Marshal was master of the self-willed city, and issued a mild proclamation to the vanquished—a proclamation the element promises of which were but ill redeemed by the subsequent butcheries of Sartory.

By the reduction of Paris and the grace of M. Thiers, Marshal Macmahon, if he added nothing to his military renown so sadly impaired by Reichshoffen and Sedan, suddenly found himself in a position of authority, more real than any to which he had perhaps ever dreamed of attaining. The army was once more a preponderating influence in French politics, and he was at its head. If "society had been saved" it had been saved by Thiers, but then M. Thiers was a Liberal who had in his old age turned Republican, because he found that that form of government divided his distracted country least. The Marshal, on the other hand, had been a sympathiser with reactionary principles from his youth up. He was, moreover, in supreme military command, and might therefore be available at any moment as a stop-gap sort of Caesar or High Constable to a restored monarchy. Accordingly

no sooner did France begin to settle down and to staunch her bleeding wounds than evil counsellors of all kinds, clerical, Imperialist, Monarchical, began to play on the prejudices of the simple-minded Marshal. There is no reason to believe that he had from first to last any consuming ambition to figure as a civil ruler. The bitter memory of his experiences as Governor-General of Algeria was probably enough to prevent him from voluntarily seeking to play such a part again. But, like greater men, he was under the influence of his wife, a clever and ambitious woman, so extravagantly proud of her ancestry as to affect something like regal dignity and exclusiveness. It has always been the misfortune of this man to be under some influence that warped his own judgment and better nature. On his return from his German captivity he started well as M. Thiers' right hand in reorganising the army of France. At the Elections of July, 1871, he declined nominations for a seat in the Legislature, offered to him by several important constituencies, on the plea that he was no politician and that he was more profitably employed in the discharge of his professional duties. In January, 1872, he again refused to be nominated for the Department of the Seine, and even down to the eve of the memorable 24th of May, 1873, when, by the votes of the coalesced Monarchists, he stepped into the shoes of the great statesman by whose generosity he had been restored to honour and emolument, he gave no sign of altered intentions. The secret of the reactionaries had been well kept, and the whole civilised world was amazed to find the peace of France once more threatened, not this time by Communards or Republicans, but by a "Government of Combat" and of "Moral Order," composed of Broglies, Batbies, Ernouls, and Beulés. The men of order had without the smallest provocation suddenly transformed themselves into disturbers of the public peace, with the politically "know-nothing" Marshal as the ostensible ringleader. There were all the known symptoms of a bloody *coup d'état*, which humane minds everywhere shuddered to think of. In a manifesto to the nation the Marshal-President was made to talk the old familiar language of the worst days of the Second Empire. He spoke of "my government" and of the responsibility he was under to maintain an "order" which none had sought to disturb. Even Thiers, with all his experience of the ups and downs of political life, was at first taken aback at the threatening aspect of affairs. He is said to have confessed to a friend that he had thought the Marshal "a harmless simpleton but that he had turned out a dangerous beast."

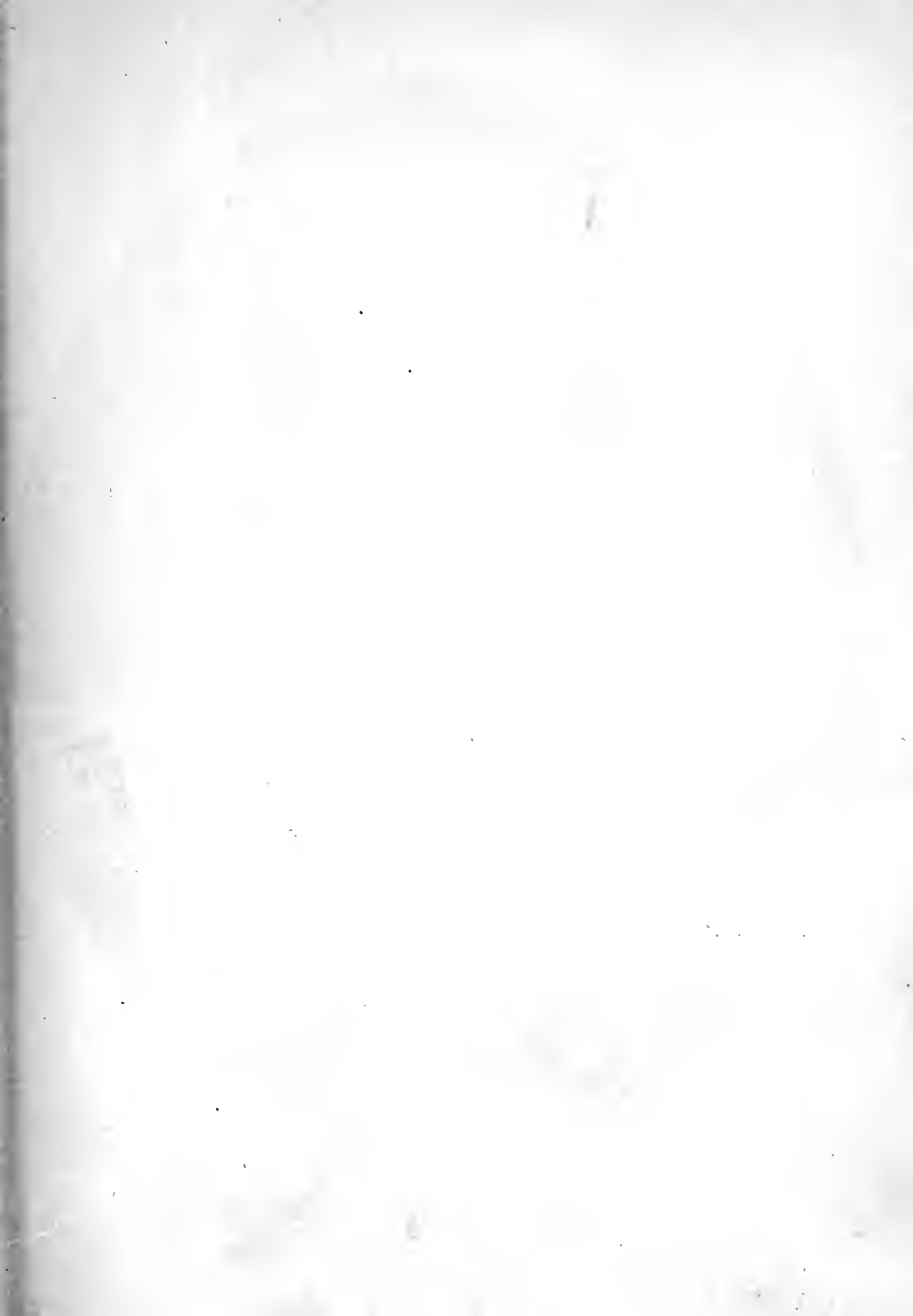
On the 20th of November, 1873, the Coalition followed up their *coup* of the 24th of May by conferring on the Marshal a seven years' term of office, or "Septennate," as it has been called. Their motive was obvious—to give the conspirators time to mature their plans for destroying the Government, and replacing it by one hostile to popular liberty. They did not succeed, for various sufficient reasons. They had a working majority in the Assembly, but they could not agree among themselves which of the pretenders to royalty was to succeed to the inheritance of the Republic, and the Marshal was not the man to cut the Gordian knot for them by the exercise of an authority over them which he did not really possess. On the other hand, the Monarchical majority in the Legislature was a majority elected under the influence of panic, which, it was felt, did not represent the normal feelings of the constituencies, and worse than all, the army could no longer be trusted to cut the throat of the Republic. Many of the younger officers owed their promotion to Gambetta and the Government of National Defence, and they very naturally identified their own interests with the stability of the Republic, which had been the first to recognise their merits. In vain the Marshal in 1874 tried the effects of a progress through the provinces. Everywhere he was received

with respect as President of the Republic, but nowhere as anything else. Mayors of towns presented him with addresses in abundance, but generally contrived covertly to glorify the Republic at the expense of those who were administering its affairs. For one voice that cried "Vive le Maréchal!" scores greeted his ears with the never-failing "Vive la République!" He returned to Paris a sadder if not a wiser man, for he could not but feel how different was the sentiment of the people from that of the salons.

Then came the Elections of 1876 which gave the Republicans their famous 363 votes in the Chamber—a substantial working majority. In the Senate the Conservatives still preponderated, and a dangerous antagonism was thus created. For a time, however, the Marshal and his advisers staggered at such an irresistible expression of Republican opinion, seemed to waver in their resolutions, and for some time M. Jules Simon was permitted to preside over a Republican Cabinet. But a more audacious attempt on the public liberties than any that had yet been made was being secretly matured. On the 16th of May, 1877, the Simon Ministry was dismissed by the President in a dictatorial letter redolent with phrases amounting to positive insult, and a second Government of Combat chosen from the minority with Broglie, Decazes, and De Fourtou as its leading members. It had been resolved to try the experiment of fresh elections under the pressure of a state of siege combined with a revival of all the old abuses of official candidatures. On the 22nd of June the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved and the trial of electoral strength began. Gambetta predicted that the Republican 363 would return to Versailles 400 strong, and he was not far out in his calculations if the number of Conservative returns subsequently quashed for illegality is taken into account.

After a futile attempt to instal an extra-parliamentary "Cabinet of Affairs," with General Rochebouer at its head, the Marshal was again constrained to give his countenance to a sincerely Republican "Government of Conciliation," presided over by M. Dufaure. Having thus "submitted," it only followed that he should "resign." And this he eventually did, to the general satisfaction, no act of his official life becoming him half so well as the last. His loss has been France's gain. He was deposed by public opinion, constitutionally manifested, and that public opinion which was too strong and too intelligent for him is the firm foundation on which rests the Third Republic—the "possible," the pacific, the progressive Republic.

[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by M. L. Joliot, Paris.]





*From a photograph by Messrs W & D Downey Newcastle on Tyne  
and 41, Abney Street, London.*

CASSEIL PETTER & GALPIN LITH LONDON

ABDUL HAMID II. SULTAN OF TURKEY.



ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

There have been three dynasties of Osman, the first of which, the Seljuk dynasty, ascended the throne in the year 1037, and continued to reign for more than six hundred years. The Ottoman Empire, however, did not exist until the thirteenth century of its existence, but the empire has since that time been subjected during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, with its territories, to the loss of the Slav States from the number of tributaries, and the consequent loss of the Empire. Labouring under the great financial disadvantages of being surrounded by countries with the populations of which they have never assimilated, the Turks have not made that progress by which alone their position might be held intact. This, coupled with gross misrule, has tended slowly perhaps, but yet with certainty, to weaken their influence among nations. The material indeed remains, but the mismanagement of that material has wasted energies which at one period of the world's history enabled the Osmanli to send their conquests far and wide. With the consideration that the Ottoman Empire has been a dynasty which has told with the might of an iron rule, and the record of which is presented to the world as a monument of a government persistently overthrown and crushed by incompetent and vicious rulers. The unbounded loyalty of the Mohammedans to the Sultan—the Sovereign and Protector of all Mohammedans—in various senses, and the religious tests the Khalifate of Islam has and which is the part of the religion, has done much to perpetuate the empire; and Turkey, though surrounded by various external troubles, has not made any progress where the Mohammedans in their power have asserted an opinion. The records of every other empire which has attained to any eminence point to the fact that progress never is so considerable as when the people share in the government, and if once the Turkish passion for domination is directed to those in a like position in other countries, there can be no doubt that the phoenix-like Ottoman Empire will rise to a foremost rank. There are many obstacles in the way of such a movement which I need not be denied, but even evils have made it at any rate possible.

Amongst all the Sultans who have reigned at Constantinople, not one at the onset has succeeded to so difficult a position as the present sovereign. Abdul Hamid II. is a younger son and the fourth child of Sultan Abdul Medjid, who, after a reign of 22 years, died in 1901. During the late Abdul Medjid occupied the throne many most important events took place, notably, the Crimean war. He left fourteen children—six sons and eight daughters—but was succeeded, in accordance with the Ottoman law of succession, by his third son, Abdul Aziz. This law provides that the Osman sultan be inherited according to seniority of the male descendants of Osman, going from the Imperial Harem. The Imperial Harem, as stated, is considered a permanent State institution, and all children born there, whether the offspring of



## ABDUL HAMID II.

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THERE have been thirty-four Sultans of Turkey since Othman, the founder of the present dynasty, ascended the throne in the year 1299, the average duration of their reign amounting to sixteen years. The Ottoman Empire has passed through numerous crises during the five centuries of its existence, but the severest trial it has yet undergone was that to which it was subjected during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, with its results—the elimination of some of the Slav States from the number of tributaries, and the consequent loss of power to the Empire. Labouring under the great fundamental disadvantage of being alien conquerors of countries with the populations of which they have never assimilated, the Turks have not made that progress by which alone their position might be held intact. This, coupled with gross misrule, has tended slowly perhaps, but yet with certainty, to weaken their influence among nations. The material indeed remains, but the mismanagement of that material has wasted energies which at one period of the world's history enabled the Osmanli to extend their conquests far and wide. With the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire there was introduced an effeminaey which has told with baneful effect on the ruling classes, and at the present day there is presented to the world the saddening spectacle of a magnificent peasantry downtrodden and crushed by incompetent and vicious rulers. The unbounded loyalty of the Mohammedan to the Sultan—the Sovereign and Padichah of all Ottomans—in whose person, be it remembered, vests the Khalifate of Islamism, and who, as Supreme Khalif, is the protector of the Mussulman religion, has done much to perpetuate this state of things; and Turkey, though experiencing various external troubles, has never reached that state of progress when the masses, rising in their power, have asserted and gained their due rights. The records of every other nation which has attained to any eminence prove that the tide of progress never is so irresistible as when the people share in the government, and if once the Turkish peasantry obtain the status accorded to those in a like position in other countries there can be no doubt but that, phoenix-like, the Ottoman Empire will again rise to a foremost rank. That there are many obstacles in the way of such a result being achieved cannot be denied, but recent events have made it at any rate possible.

Amongst all the Sultans who have reigned at Constantinople, not one at the outset has succeeded to so difficult a position as the present sovereign. Abdul Hamid II. is a younger son and the fourth child of Sultan Abdul Medjid, who, after a reign of 22 years, died in 1861. During the time Abdul Medjid occupied the throne many most important events took place, notably, the Crimean war. He left fourteen children—six sons and eight daughters—but was succeeded, in accordance with the Ottoman law of succession, by his brother Abdul Assiz. This law provides that the Crown shall be inherited according to seniority by the male descendants of Othman, sprung from the Imperial Harem. The Harem, it may be stated, is considered a permanent State institution, and all children born in it, whether the offspring of

free women or of slaves, are legitimate and of equal lineage. For some centuries the Sultans have not contracted regular marriages. The inmates of the Harem come, by purchase or by free will, mostly from districts beyond the limits of the Empire, the majority from Circassia. The Sultan is only succeeded by his eldest son when that prince is the eldest agnate of the dynasty. At the time of Abdul Medjid's death there seemed little likelihood of young Abdul Hamid ever reaching the throne, and this accounts in a great measure for the neglect with which he was systematically treated in his early youth. He was born on the 22nd September, 1842. His mother, who does not appear to have been a free woman, died shortly after, and he was adopted by the second wife of Abdul Medjid, who at her death is said to have left him a considerable fortune. The name Abdul Hamid ('Abdu-'l-Hamîd) means, as was pointed out some years ago by a distinguished Oriental scholar, "the servant of Him who is pre-eminently worthy of praise"—that is, God. His father's name ('Abdu-'l-Majîd) bears a similar signification; Hamîd and Majîd being two of the Asmâü-'l-Husna, or beautiful names, applied by Moslems to the Almighty. The young prince's education, like that of all Turkish princes, received little or no attention; and his uncle, Abdul Assiz, allowed him hardly any other amusements than those afforded within the sickly precincts of the Harem. His mental training was completely neglected, as well as that of his brother, all their learning, when they reached the age of manhood, being confined to deciphering the letters of the Arabian and Turkish languages. More robust than his brother, Abdul Hamid has resisted better those enervating influences which destroyed the health and finally the intelligence of Murad, but the effect of such a childhood may yet be traced. At one time it was proposed to send the young Prince Hamid to Paris, and then to England to go through a course of training in one of the military schools, but Abdul Assiz refused his sanction, preferring not to lose sight of his nephews. It was in pursuance of his system of strict *surveillance*, that they were made to accompany their uncle on the journey he made to France to visit the Paris Exhibition of 1867, which tour was afterwards extended to London. During this journey Abdul Hamid acquired a decided taste for the science of geography, which was evidenced on his return to Turkey, where he hung the walls of his summer residence on the Sweet Waters with maps of all kinds, and devoted himself to the study of political geography with great zeal. He has a passion for arms of every description, and is also much addicted to bodily exercises. A good shot with the pistol, he rides well, and has accomplished on occasion very difficult gymnastic feats. His favourite relaxation is to lift weights and play at single-stick, and he is said to perform on the trapeze like a professional performer, entering into it as if his livelihood depended on his skill. Revolvers and guns share the honours he accords to maps, they appear everywhere in his palaces, which are veritable armouries. Abdul Hamid is also very enthusiastic in military affairs, without, however, being versed in the serious art of war, and military success has great—indeed, perhaps undue—weight with him. He has a decided taste for European manners and customs and dress; the only article of Oriental attire he has retained is the fez, and this he wears from a feeling of patriotism. It is asserted that with the passion for manly exercises, which was one of the results of his visit to Europe, Abdul Hamid acquired another far from praiseworthy habit, that of reckless gambling, indulging in play to a very great extent. Since his accession to the throne, however, he has in a great measure freed himself from these practices. Possessed of great courage and a strong will, he is abstemious, and applies himself to business. He is not, as has been said, given to drink, nor is he a spendthrift, but rather the reverse.

He inherited from his father a small estate at Kiahat Hane, and resided there in a quiet unostentatious manner with his wife and two children up to April, 1876. In that month he removed to a larger country house. There he received the ministers who were instrumental in deposing his uncle. His courage was early shown. It is remembered that on one occasion Abdul Assiz, giving way to that suspicion which is the not unnatural consequence of those palace intrigues so frequent at Constantinople, exercised the utmost severity in his dealings with his nephews, and particularly with young Murad, to such a pitch that Abdul Hamid interposed and remonstrated with his uncle. The enraged Sultan threatened to behead him; and Murad, whose character was of the feeblest nature, cowered before the storm of anger. But Abdul Hamid, boldly advancing, bared his neck, and said, "I dare you to do it." This undaunted action had its effect, and Abdul Assiz, although not relaxing his watch on his nephews, caused them to be treated, at any rate outwardly, with greater respect. Another instance of this independent spirit occurred after the great fire in Pera. In consequence of reports that the conflagration was the work of incendiaries, Abdul Assiz was seized with a dread that attempts would be made on the palace, and, among other precautions, ordered all fireplaces to be destroyed. This was done except in the apartments of Prince Hamid, who refused to allow the workmen to enter his room, and his was the only fire that remained untouched. Curiously enough, this characteristic bravery attracted Abdul Assiz towards him, and as he was not the direct heir to the throne there was not the same cause for jealousy which existed in the case of his brother Murad. Soon everything was changed. The outbreak of the war with Servia seems to have completed the demoralisation of Abdul Assiz, for he developed an overbearing manner and an utter disregard for his country, which turned his own ministers against him. The impoverished condition of the Imperial Treasury was such that there were no means to carry on the war, and in this strait the Sultan was applied to for assistance out of his privy purse. He absolutely and resolutely refused to devote a single piastre for the public benefit, and persisting in his refusal, he was informed that the people were dissatisfied with his government, and that he was deposed. This was on the 30th May, 1876. Without loss of time the deposed Sultan, with the Sultana Validé, was conducted to the Tophana Palace, and Mohamed Murad was proclaimed in his stead, under the title of Murad V.

The refusal of the Sultan Abdul Assiz to assist the nation at such a time can only be regarded with feelings of the greatest contempt, for his civil list amounted to an enormous sum. In the budget for the years 1874-75 it was given at £1,809,090, and in that for 1875-76 at £1,594,736. To the Imperial family also belonged a great number of Crown domains, the income from which, as well as customary presents of high State functionaries, went to swell the private revenue of the Sultan, which, together with the public allowance, has usually been spent in a very questionable way. The number of persons composing the Court and Harem of Sultan Abdul Assiz was put down at 5,000, while the annual expenditure reached the almost incredible amount of £4,500,000. The Harem is in itself a world in miniature, and has a regular system of government. From the inmates the Sultan designates a certain number, generally seven, who are called "Kadyn," Ladies of the Palace; the rest go by the name of "Odalik," and are under their jurisdiction. The superintendent of the Harem, always an aged Lady of the Palace, bears the title of "Haznadar-Kadyn." She communicates with the outer world through the medium of the Chief of the Eunuchs, who, under the style of "Kyzlar-Agassi," has the same rank as the Grand Vizier.

Abdul Assiz was, after a short time, removed at his own request from the Tophana Palace to that of the Cheragan. While confined there, on the 4th June in the same year, he committed suicide. It is needless to say suicide is looked upon by all Moslems with the greatest abhorrence. Many still doubt whether the official account of his death—by his cutting open a vein with a pair of scissors in a fit of mental depression—is entirely trustworthy.

The reign of Murad only lasted for three months. Soon after his accession great excitement was created in Constantinople by the assassination of the Ministers for War and Foreign Affairs in the Council Chamber, by an officer named Hassan. The assassin, after due trial, met with the fate he richly deserved. But the assassination affected Murad and increased the delusions under which he was labouring. The Ministry—the same that on the 30th May previously had pronounced Abdul Assiz dethroned—now became convinced of the mental incapacity of Murad. Upon their representation, the Sheik, Hassan Hairoull—the Sheik-ul-Islam—decided that it was lawful to dethrone him. The populace were entirely unprepared for another change in their ruler. Only the Friday before the demented Sovereign had been paraded to the Silamik at the Mosque. Yet they received the news with the same apathy that they heard of Abdul Assiz's deposition; an "Allah Akhbar"—"God is great"—was their only expression of feeling. The primary cause of the madness of Murad was the treatment he had received at the hands of his uncle. He was haunted by apprehensions of a violent death, and these had such an effect that he was unable to sleep. He took to an immoderate indulgence in drink to drown his cares, and the result was speedy softening of the brain. When Abdul Assiz committed suicide Murad was seized with a conviction that the public would accuse him of murdering his uncle. This preyed on his mind to a great extent, and subsequently he became so weak that he utterly broke down and became undoubtedly insane, but whether quite incurable or no has not yet been positively ascertained. It was with difficulty that Hamid was persuaded to take upon himself the duties and responsibilities of Sovereign in the place of his brother, and it was not until repeated representations had been made to him that there was no probability of his brother's recovery that he permitted himself to assume supreme authority.

One of the first acts of Hamid after he came to the throne was to accede to the pressing necessity for a change in the system of Administration, and the seventh day of Zilhadjé, 1293 (December 23, 1876), will henceforth be a marked day in the Turkish calendar. For on that day was promulgated the new Ottoman Constitution. It was devised by Midhat Pasha, and provided for the establishment of representative institutions on the model of Western Europe. Henceforth the Sultan of Turkey appears as a Constitutional Sovereign. He is irresponsible, and his person is sacred and inviolate, while the liberty of his subjects is guaranteed by the law. The Constitution also established a Chamber of Deputies elected by ballot, and a Senate nominated by the Sultan, and local government was provided for by a system of municipal councils. The salvoes of artillery which announced the promulgation of this new Constitution were heard by the representatives of the great Powers then meeting at Constantinople for the first time in full Conference, at the moment when the proposals of the European nations were being placed in the hands of the Turkish members.

The Conference came to an end without anything having been effected. On the 18th January in the following year the Grand Council of Ministers and Dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire, under the presidency of Midhat, unanimously rejected the administrative reforms proposed by the European Powers as "contrary to the integrity, to the independence,

and to the dignity of the Empire." A week later all the Plenipotentiaries left Constantinople. Speaking of the Conference a few weeks after, on the opening of the first Turkish Parliament, in his speech from the throne, Abdul Hamid declared that the disagreement between himself and the European Powers rested rather in form and method than in substance. His Majesty added, "All my efforts will be devoted towards bringing to perfection the progress which has been already realised in the situation of the Empire, and in the branches of its administration. But I consider it one of my most important duties to remove any cause which may be detrimental to the dignity and independence of my Empire. I leave to time the task of proving the sincerity of my intentions of reconciliation."

The Constitution, framed by Midhat Pasha after long consideration, provides for the regulation of the succession to the Sultanate according to ancient law; the Sultan being, as before mentioned, under the title of Supreme Khalif, Protector of the Mohammedan religion. The Sultan nominates his ministers, and when he sees fit revokes the appointment, confers rank, offices, and issues money; concludes treaties with foreign Powers, declares war and makes peace; commands, at any rate in theory, the armies on land and on sea, and carries into effect the provisions of the *Chéri* (that is, the Sacred Law) and of the laws of the realm. The Sultan convokes and prorogues the General Assembly, and can at once dissolve, should he deem it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies. The principal public rights of the Ottomans—that is to say, of all subjects of the Empire, whatever religion they may profess—are as follows:—All Ottomans shall enjoy individual liberty, which is absolutely inviolable, and no one can undergo punishment except by the formal operation of the law. Islamism is the religion of the State, but the State protects the free exercise of all the acknowledged "cultes" in the Empire. The Press is free within the limits determined by the law. Teaching is free; every Ottoman can lecture in public or in private on the condition that he conforms to the law. Admission to the public offices is only conditioned by a knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language, Ottomans being admitted to public offices according to their merit and capacity. The assessment and repartition of imposts are to conform to special rules, in proportion to the fortune of each tax-payer. Home is inviolable, with the exception of the cases determined by the law. Confiscation of property, compulsory service, exaction under form of fines, the collection of money under the title of a tax, &c., not sanctioned by law, torture under every form, are absolutely prohibited. Ministers are named by the Imperial Iradé, only the Grand Vizier and the Sheik-ul-Islam are invested in their position by the Sultan in person. Ministers are responsible before the Chamber of Deputies, which, on its side, after having heard the explanations of the Minister against whom complaint has been made, submits the address demanding his impeachment for the sanction of the Sultan. In case of urgent necessity, when the General Assembly is not sitting, the Minister can make dispositions in order to guard the State against danger, and these dispositions, sanctioned by Imperial Iradé, have provisionally the force of law. Each Minister has the right to be present at the sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, and of being heard before every member who has risen to speak. He is also bound to furnish the explanations that may be demanded of him. The General Assembly is composed of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, which assembles on the 1st November in each year; the opening and the closing take place by virtue of an Imperial Iradé. No member of the General Assembly can be prosecuted for opinions or votes recorded in the Chambers. The initiation of propositions for laws appertains to the Ministry, but these propositions can



also proceed from the Chambers. The laws have only force if after having been adopted by the two Chambers, they are sanctioned by Imperial Iradé. The president and the members of the Senate are nominated for life by the Sultan, with a monthly salary of 10,000 piastres; their number cannot exceed the third of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The number of the Deputies is fixed at the rate of one Deputy for 50,000 Ottomans of the male sex. The election takes place by ballot. The warrant of a Deputy is compatible with public office, excepting those of the Ministry; otherwise each irreproachable Ottoman of at least 30 years of age, speaking Turkish, is eligible. The warrant (*le mandat*) continues only four years. Each Deputy receives 20,000 piastres the Session and travelling expenses. The President and the two Vice-Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies are nominated by the Sultan out of a list of nine candidates formed by the Chamber. No Deputy can, while the Session lasts, be arrested or prosecuted. As to the judicial authority it has been decreed as follows:—The judges are irremovable; the sittings of all courts are public; every person can before the court make use of every means of defence permitted by the law; no court may refuse to adjudge a case within its province. Cases concerning the *Chéri* are adjudged by the Courts of the Chéri, civil cases by civil courts. Outside the ordinary courts commissions, or special courts, may not be instituted. There is a High Court of thirty members, of whom ten are Senators, ten Councillors of State, and ten members are chosen from among the Presidents and members of the Court of Cassation and of the Court of Appeal. This court has to adjudge Ministers, the President, and the members of the Court of Appeal, and all persons accused of the crime of high treason or of attempts against the security of the State. As to finance it has been decreed among other things:—An impost to the profit of the State can only be collected in virtue of a law; the budget is the law which governs all that concerns imposts. *La loi du budget* is voted by the General Assembly for one year. An audit office has been instituted, and examines financial operations and annual accounts.

The subsequent dismissal of Midhat Pasha from the office of Grand Vizier, and his banishment from the Empire, was one of the greatest mistakes which could have been made. But the peculiar position of the Sultan affords much ground for excusing his conduct on that occasion. Reared in the strict seclusion of the Seraglio, he was brought out at the age of thirty-four to meet difficulties and regulate State affairs such as have perplexed the greatest statesmen of the age. Imbued with a strong determination, he is apt to rebel against advice, and only stern experience will produce the effect so much desired, namely, the recognition of the fact that there are men in the country whose patriotism and wisdom entitle them to receive attention in all matters concerning the welfare of the nation, while the influence of the Harem must be altogether done away with.

The career of Abdul Hamid is beset with difficulties on every side. Foreign interests are so deeply involved in some, nay, all of his possessions, that he must yield to a great extent before the dictation of those nations whose representatives have such large stakes at issue. This was exemplified in the recent events in Egypt. The action of the late Khedive, in dismissing the English and French officials charged with the reorganisation of the finances to meet liabilities in losses, led to pressure on the Porte, and resulted in the deposition of Ismail, and the substitution of his son, Prince Tewfik. This action of Abdul Hamid proves that he is imbued with the necessity of keeping faith, and augurs well for the future.

He had not been on the throne five days when he evinced his economical disposition by making great changes in the affairs of the household. From time immemorial the Court

kitchen has provided the whole of the persons employed in and about the Palace with provisions, which they were allowed to take to their homes. In the reign of Abdul Assiz the expenditure of the kitchen reached the sum of £40,000 (Turkish) a month. Abdul Hamid proceeded to reduce this. Instead of giving provisions he ordered that meals should be provided at stated hours. By this means ample food is supplied, but the cost is reduced more than a half, and a saving of a very large sum has been effected in this department alone. Abdul Hamid, unlike his predecessor, takes his own meals *en famille*. He has also cut down numerous allowances of the Harem, and has abolished the sinecure of Marshal of the Palace. He has also dispensed with a great deal of the rigorous etiquette of the Court, and moves and mixes familiarly with those around him. It is related that one day after a review of the troops he invited to dinner not only the field-m Marshals and generals but also the brigadier-generals and colonels. The meal was served in the Seraskierate, but by his Majesty's orders was prepared in the kitchen of the neighbouring barracks. It was frugal in the extreme—purely soldier's fare—and consisted of a durlubasty or stew with vegetables, a pilaff, and a "preserve of sweets." On the next day he followed up this departure from the usual custom of his predecessors by inviting the members who had been present at the Council held at the Palace to dine with him at his villa at Yeldiz-Kiosk, situated on the heights above Cheragan, and offered the Grand Vizier a seat in the royal carriage. These acts of what is considered great condescension in an Eastern monarch have created a very general impression in his favour.

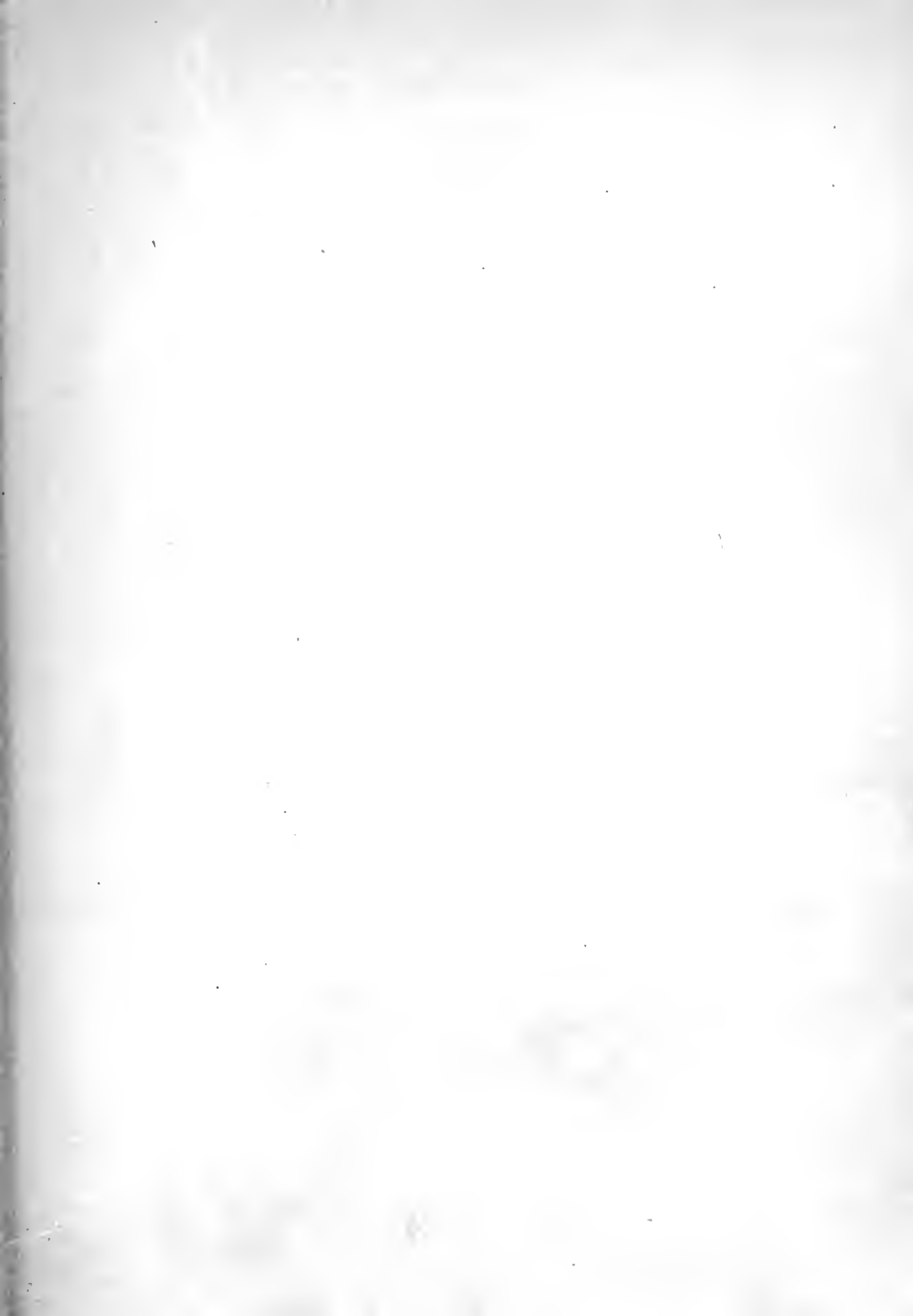
On the 4th December, 1876, two of the Sultan's sisters were betrothed. The state ceremonial was performed in the Palace of Top-Capou at Constantinople, near the old Seraglio in which the relic of the Prophet's mantle is preserved. The Grand Vizier, all the other Ministers, and a number of the higher order of Ulemas were present. The Sheik-ul-Islam delivered an appropriate address after the ceremony, which was of an imposing nature. In the evening a grand State dinner was given, and the occasion was celebrated with unusual demonstrations. The husbands of the Sultanas, Behidjé and Sembé, are Hamid Bey and Mohamed Bey, both junior functionaries in the Turkish Foreign Office. Their places of residence are two of the smaller palaces on the Bosphorus, belonging to the State, situated near Bechiktash.

The present Sultan, taking a lesson from his own bringing up, has adopted a different course with regard to his own sons. They are being educated on a plan closely resembling the system adopted by Europeans. Two professors from the Imperial Lyceum at Galata have charge of the children, and every week submit to the Sultan a report of the progress made. Each month the proficiency of the princes is tested by examination. The course of study is fixed by the Sultan himself, and includes besides the ordinary subjects of study an acquaintance with the Turkish, Arabian, French, and English languages. Carrying out his love of bodily exercise, Abdul Hamid insists on the physical training of his sons, and a certain portion of the time of the young princes is devoted to gymnastics. It is said that ultimately they are to be sent to England to complete their course of instruction in the English schools, and principally at the Woolwich Military Academy, with a view to being perfected in the military sciences which have such a hold on the mind of their father. Midhat Pasha's merit has so far been recognised that he has been appointed Governor of Syria; and the refusal of the Sultan to reinstate Nedim Pasha as Grand Vizier, a man of known non-progressive proclivities, is another instance of the desire of Abdul Hamid to promote liberal constitutions. The Greek difficulty just now is occupying much attention, and the disinclination to make

concessions to that nationality may be traced to the Sultan, who, though not a fanatic, and well disposed towards the Giaours generally, detests the Greeks. He is a member of the "Old Turk" party, and advocated war to the death rather than any compromise which would bring about the disintegration of the Empire. The heir-presumptive is his brother, Mohamed Reschid Effendi, born on 3rd November, 1844.

In many respects Abdul Hamid II.'s character is like that of his grandfather, Mohamed II. He is very religious, and a strict observer of all the rites dictated by the faith of Islam. The first Abdul Hamid, the great-grandfather of the present Sultan, reigned from 1773 to 1789, and during those sixteen years saw the defeat of Varna and the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardja, which ceded to Russia the rich country between the Bug and the Dneiper, and gave that Power the protectorate over the Christian subjects. He saw also, a few years later, the incorporation of the Crimea into the Russian Empire; and, just before his death, the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians at Kilburuns. The present Sultan has already seen much of national disaster like his namesake. But it is to be hoped that his experiences of such misfortunes have ended, and that he will live to develop the resources of his country, and replace it, as he earnestly desires, in its old position in the front rank of nations.

*[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey, London.]*





JAMES W. PETERSON & CO.

GENERAL FRANCIS EDWARD TODLEBEN

## GENERAL FRANCIS EDWARD TROTTER

**D**URING the series of treaties which followed upon the defeat of Napoleon, France settled her affairs with most of the different countries of Europe. Her policy was based upon her hands as she could possibly be expected to carry out successfully the requirements of her largely increasing population at home and in the vast dominions of the Eastern Empire. The revolutions of 1848, which threatened three or rather four times that England engaged with Reform Bills and an Irish insurrection, but which latter part of the revolutionary excitement. It seemed at last as if the rulers of Europe, with all its complex interests, had sought the most workable that an era of peace had been inaugurated, and that the bulk of European policy was determined upon taking no further steps to redress grievances which were not felt, and have determined that the objects of civilized peoples should consist rather in improving human lives and positions than in squandering human beings whom they could never see, and who had never come there before.

Such a position has not been so rapidly well or absurdly accepted by the nations at work which are now engaged in preparing for the future. The nations are in motion all the more, and war is more frequently being waged, the case of the Crimean War was invoked. The world has been so ignorant of the truth and of the nature of such an unwelcome event as the death of the great hero of a Christian nation was the indication of the great tragedy which ended in the Crimean War. The death of the hero, besides the temporal power which he wielded over his own country, large portions of Turkey, Persia, Sweden, and Poland, exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the Christians of Greece, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, and he supported the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy and framed the dietation of Napoleon III. for her aid to the Latin. Each Government, however, had to gain the support of Turkey, and this, although indifferent as to the form of religion, form of Christianity, would willingly have made a present of her interest in the question of the Holy Pover which had requested such cooperation. Unfortunately, however, in his regard for the end of the quarrel, the Turk had recourse to a system of sullen diplomacy, which was offending both the parties to the religious war. As negotiations between France, Turkey, and Russia were being carried on, the question of the Holy sites became involved with neither and more dangerous one that of the preponderance which the Czar claimed over the Greek Christians in Turkey. This claim he proceeded to press with the hope of nullifying the already distended empire of those valuable principalities on the Danube, the possession of which would have materially assisted in maturing his plans for the ultimate subjugation of Constantinople.

Before settling completely at defiance all remonstrance of the new Russian Empire, he set himself to discover the sentiments of Great Britain upon the subject. He was aware that





## GENERAL FRANCIS EDWARD TODLEBEN.

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**D**URING the series of treaties which followed upon the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, settled boundaries were made of the different countries in Europe. England had as much upon her hands as she could possibly be expected to carry out successfully in meeting the requirements of her largely increasing population at home, and in the administration of her Eastern Empire. The revolutions of 1848, which threatened thrones in other lands, found England engaged with Reform Bills and an Irish insurrection, but taking little part in the revolutionary excitement. It seemed at last as if the ramifications of commerce, with all its complex interests, had taught the most warlike that an era of peace had been entered upon, and that the bulk of each nation's population was determined upon taking no further steps to redress grievances which were not its own, and had determined that the objects of civilised peoples should consist rather in improving their own lives and positions than in slaughtering human beings whom they had never seen, and who had never done them harm.

Such a position does not seem extravagantly wild or absurdly utopian; but influences were at work which once again were prepared to disturb this simple illusion of peace, and to set in motion all the machinery of war. As very frequently has been the case, the name of Religion was invoked. A quarrel between some ignorant monks of the Greek and Latin Churches upon such an unwarlike subject as the key of the great door of a church at Bethlehem was the first indication of those controversies which ended in the Crimean War. The Czar of Russia—who, besides the temporal power which he wields over his own country, large portions of Turkey, Persia, Sweden, and Poland, exercises spiritual jurisdiction over co-religionists in Greece, Asia Minor, and elsewhere—hastened to support the Greek ecclesiastics in Syria; and France, at the dictation of Napoleon III., lent her aid to the Latins. Each Government endeavoured to gain the support of Turkey, a State which, absolutely indifferent as to the merits of any form of Christianity, would willingly have made a present of her interest in the quarrel to the first Power which had requested such co-operation. Unfortunately, however, in his anxiety to keep out of the quarrel, the Turk had recourse to a system of subtle diplomacy, which ended in offending both the parties to the religious feud. As negotiations between France, Turkey, and Russia were being carried on, the question of the Holy sites became involved with another and more dangerous one, that of the protectorate which the Czar claimed over the Greek Christians in Turkey. This claim he proceeded to press with the hope of adding to his already distended empire some of those valuable principalities on the Danube, the possession of which would have materially assisted in maturing his plans for the ultimate reduction of Constantinople.

Before setting completely at defiance all remonstrance of the new French Empire, he set himself to discover the sentiments of Great Britain upon the subject. He was aware that

England had long considered herself bound by interest and the sanctity of treaty obligations to preserve the integrity of Turkey. Therefore, early in January, 1853, he entered into friendly communications with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Minister at St. Petersburg, with the avowed object of discovering what were the intentions of England with regard to the immediate dissolution of the Turkish Empire, an event which, with the Czar, had become a foregone conclusion. The British Ambassador naturally refused to commit his Government to any course of action upon a matter so involved. Further attempts at amicable negotiations were met with similar success, until, as a means to some decisive step, Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople with full directions and authority from the Czar. A better selection could not possibly have been made for the purpose of exciting hostilities. Mentschikoff was a soldier rather than a diplomatist: he possessed a haughty dictatorial temperament, little calculated to help on peace arrangements; and in a very short time he succeeded in insulting the Sultan's Prime Minister, in procuring his resignation, and in creating a general panic among the representatives of foreign courts. France sent her fleet to Salamis. Sir Stratford Canning returned to his ambassadorial duties at Constantinople, with the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and hastened to enter into negotiations for the settlement of the question of the Holy Places. Towards the end of April the original cause of quarrel between Russia and Turkey was satisfactorily arranged. Meantime, to the consternation of Prussia and Austria, a Russian force was gathering on the Pruth, and the Sebastopol fleet was prepared for sea. After many protests and futile overtures, on the 2nd July a Russian army crossed the Pruth, and a Russian general assumed the government of the principalities. This occupation of the Danubian principalities created a profound sensation throughout Europe. The encouragement which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had given the Porte in resisting Russian demands committed England to the obligation of protecting Turkey in case of extremities, and France had already testified her desire to oppose Russia by sending a fleet and preparing a powerful army. The massacre of Sinope at length gave full impetus to English war feeling, and it was determined that the British fleet should enter the Black Sea, not for the purpose of attacking the Russians, but for the purpose of protecting the Turks. All armed Russian vessels were compelled to retire into the harbour of Sebastopol. "Here I am," exclaimed Lord Aberdeen, "with one foot in the grave, placed against my will at the head of the ministry, and forced on to that bloodshed against which throughout the whole of my public career I have hitherto successfully struggled."

Innumerable reasons have been alleged from time to time for the justification of England in entering upon the Crimean War. It was stated that the object of the war was to open the Black Sea to all merchant-vessels. This could scarcely have been the genuine reason, for the Black Sea was already as open to merchant-vessels of every country as the Baltic. It was also very generally thought that we were entering upon the war because we had had a treaty with the Sultan binding us to defend the integrity and independence of his empire. This speculation upon treaty obligations gave an undoubted tone of morality and integrity to the hopes and wishes of the English people, who having been at peace almost since Waterloo, felt anxious for some blood-letting, and the encroachments of Russia offered as fair an excuse as could have well been afforded. But this matter about treaty obligations, however effectual in raising the war spirit, was nothing but a speculation, and possessed no real existence beyond the imaginative tendencies of a warlike people. Lord Aberdeen had carefully and emphatically announced in the House of Lords that we had had no treaty before the Crimean War binding us to defend

the Sultan or his dominions. Therefore the justification based upon national coalitions was groundless. But a great war must have numerous reasons for its existence, whether real or hypothetical, and when the notion of a treaty failed, it was declared that the object of the war was to allow ships of all nations to go up the Danube. This could scarcely have been the real object, as during the preceding twenty years the traffic had multiplied tenfold, and the ships of all nations had free access to the Danube. But the greatest cause for the popularity of the war was undoubtedly that it had been undertaken, or was considered generally to have been undertaken, for the freedom and independence of nations. It is amusing to think of the average Briton consoling himself for the disasters of prolonged warfare with the thought that he had at least been the means of rendering assistance to an oppressed nationality. It is particularly amusing when we remember that the greater part of that Empire upon which "the sun is never known to set," had been acquired by means which usually involved not only the oppression but the extirpation of nationalities. However inadequate must be the attempt to reconcile such inconsistencies, the remarkable fact remains that England went to war simply for the reason that she deemed it necessary to prevent Russia from taking possession of Constantinople. Different classes of society in England had different reasons for fighting with Russia, of which the most powerful was the warlike feeling of the idle classes, from whose ranks was contributed the large proportion of naval and military officers anxious for promotion and weary with the lassitude of peace; a very similar cause was operating upon the mind of the Muscovite, and the idle party in Russia, without any particular ill-feeling towards Turkey, fomented successfully that religious enthusiasm, which for the present was capable of diverting the peasant from political agitation, and of placing in abeyance for some time all consideration about the serf or the abolition of his serfdom. Our arrangements were made with France; and under the pretext of helping down-trodden Turkey, St. Arnaud, who had stimulated and consummated the *coup d'état* of 1851, departed on a "mission of mercy" to the East. Perhaps no war was ever undertaken by England in which immediate success seemed so completely within her grasp. Whatever the pretext of the governing powers may have been, there prevailed a general opinion throughout France and England that the nations and armies which had hitherto been opposed as if by special decree of Providence, were at last bound together by ties of deepest interest and of sincere friendship. After centuries of implacable animosity, each nation had begun to think that although national characteristics were different, there seemed no necessity why national hatred should be a necessary consequence. Suddenly the thought struck them that in the so-called paths of civilisation England and France had made the greater advances, and that the time had almost arrived when, instead of submitting all their petty disputes to the arbitrament of the sword, it would be well to sink their own small differences, and co-operate for the benefit of Europe. Such sentiments doubtless animated both nations at the beginning of the campaign, and amidst all the miserable disasters which our armies were compelled to endure, the different English regiments in the Crimea were confirmed in their respect and admiration for the gallantry of their new allies, and returned home with feelings of friendship and good-will towards the French people which are about the only tangible results of a campaign, commenced under hollow pretexts, carried on under mismanagement, and completed only when widespread disaster had reached its fullest dimensions. Our acquaintance with Russia also, which had previously been confined to small sections of the commercial classes, was divested of much mystery, and we learned to regard the Russian people as human beings, made somewhat after our own pattern, with similar virtues and vices, though in

different proportions, with a little more ingenuity in misrepresenting the truth, and more extensive capacity for becoming inebriated. We acquired also, what is more important for our present purpose, a profound respect for the courage of the Russian army, and for the learning and skill of those brilliant officers who defended Sebastopol.

The deepest sympathies of the English people had indeed been enlisted in the struggle. "We have not sought war," wrote the *Times*; "we have done all in our power to avoid it; but if it must come, we trust its evils and sacrifices will be cheerfully borne, as we are sure its perils will be manfully confronted. We have enjoyed peace long enough to value it above all things except our honour, but not long enough to enervate our energies or chill the courage which has carried us through so many apparently unequal conflicts." Marvellous mistakes and misconceptions arose in Russian and English minds. The army of the Czar having crossed the Pruth, fully expected, owing to the religious and national enthusiasm which had been excited, to have experienced no difficulty in the Danube provinces. But the defeats at Kalafat, Oltenitza, Citale, Giurgevo, disconcerted such hopes, and by compelling the Russians to abandon the siege of Silistria, the Turks expelled their enemies from a country which they had entered without reason, and which they had left without honour. This succession of defeats caused the Czar to reconsider his position, but created in the Allies a spirit of uncompromising opposition to any further overtures from Russia. On the 8th of February, 1854, the Russian ambassador, Baron Brunow, quitted London. On the 21st the Czar issued a manifesto, accusing England of aiding and abetting the enemies of Christian orthodoxy. On the 27th the ultimatum of the English Government was placed in the hands of the Czar by Prince Nesselrode, the Russian minister. It contained the following passage:—"The British Government, having exhausted all the efforts of negotiation, is compelled to declare to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg that if Russia should refuse to restrict within purely diplomatic limits the discussion in which she has for some time past been engaged with the Sublime Porte, and does not by the return of the messenger who is the bearer of my present letter announce her intention of causing the Russian troops under the orders of Prince Gortschakoff to commence their march with a view to re-cross the Pruth, so that the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be completely evacuated on the 30th of April next, the British Government must consider the refusal or the silence of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg as equivalent to a declaration of war, and will take its measures accordingly." The only reply to this communication was a verbal announcement to the English Consul that the Emperor did not consider it becoming in him to give any reply to Lord Clarendon's letter. Immediately afterwards war was formally declared. The Duke of Newcastle, who, on the proclamation, was Secretary at War, persuaded his colleagues that Sebastopol might easily be captured, and that such capture furnished the easiest method of putting an end to the war. On the 20th of June he wrote to Lord Raglan, explaining to him the wishes of the Government on the subject, and requesting him—unless there were strong reasons, not in possession of the Government, for acting otherwise—to seek the co-operation of Marshal St. Arnaud in besieging Sebastopol. St. Arnaud had similar orders from his Government. As both generals hoped that in a sudden assault by land and sea the Allies would gain possession of the town before the outlying fortifications had been strengthened, they proceeded to carry out the directions received. Accordingly 27,000 English, 22,000 French, and 5,000 Turks were landed at Eupatoria. The Allies marched southward, meeting with no resistance until, on the 20th of September, they approached the banks of the Alma, on the other side of which a Russian army, under command of Prince Mentschikoff, was strongly posted and entrenched on the heights overlooking the river from that side. After a long and desperate attack the Allies

forced their way into the entrenchments of the enemy, and compelled the Russians to retreat. Too weak in cavalry to follow up this advantage, the Allies marched along the coast to Balaklava, where they pitched their camp. It is the opinion of military authorities that if upon the first landing of our troops the fleet had forced its way into the harbour of Sebastopol, and the land-forces had assaulted the north-west side of the town, which at that time was almost without fortifications, Sebastopol must at once have fallen. Lord Raglan was prepared to do so; but his French colleague, at the point of death and with possibly an intellect enfeebled by sickness, refused to join in the assault. Profiting by this valuable remissness of the Allies, Mentschikoff gave orders that seven of his largest ships should be sunk at the entrance to the harbour in such a way as to render it impossible for any ships of war to enter. Owing to this bold manœuvre the Allies were compelled to give up all hope of carrying the place by a naval and military attack. They had even to sacrifice the idea of bombardment followed by assault, and were compelled to prepare for a regular siege. Each of the contending armies was perfectly well aware of the value of Sebastopol, and whilst the besiegers were preparing for attack the besieged were diligently preparing those earth-works which, constructed with the utmost rapidity and skill, enabled the Russians to hold for an entire year a position which the Duke of Newcastle had expected to possess within a week. Prince Mentschikoff, as commander-in-chief of the Black Sea forces, has had the credit of defending Sebastopol; but to quite another source must be attributed the protracted sufferings of British troops in the trenches, and the prolonged efforts of Russian engineering. To Francis Edward Todleben must be awarded the honour of that defence of Sebastopol, which has become one of the marvels of scientific warfare. Colonel Todleben arrived at Sebastopol about the middle of August, 1854, with a letter of introduction to Prince Mentschikoff, from his colleague, Prince Gortschakoff, with whom Todleben had been associated in the war of the Danubian provinces. He was thirty-seven years of age when he arrived, and his position was merely that of a volunteer, without any of the social status which, in the Russian army, usually accompanies high military rank.

Todleben, the son of a shopkeeper, was born at Mitau, in Courland, May 8th, 1818. Though the Baltic province to which by birth he belonged was included in the territorial dominion of Russia, by race, name, feature, and warlike quality—we are told by one who knew him intimately—he is the countryman of Bismarck. Whilst the empire he serves is the empire of the Czar, the power of which he is the most striking embodiment is that of North Germany. After the usual elementary training of his native place, he joined the College of Engineers at St. Petersburg, and immediately upon finishing his course was engaged in the expedition organised for the reduction of the Circassians in 1848. In the early part of 1854, during the campaign upon the Danube, he had distinguished himself under Schilders, and afterwards proceeded to the Crimea, where he produced the letter of introduction to Mentschikoff which we have mentioned above. The Prince received Todleben with the utmost coldness, and intimated very clearly that the young engineer might leave Sebastopol as early as he pleased. Afterwards the exact time was specified, and Todleben was allowed to remain for three weeks. Prince Mentschikoff refused for a long time to listen to arguments relative to the invasion of the Crimea. Todleben, acting upon the clear counsel of Gortschakoff, urged immediate fortification. The keen intellect of Gortschakoff had enabled him to discern between the true and false rumours concerning the Allies and their probable operations. He expected a Baltic fleet, and had provided for its reception. He expected and hoped to have met some branch of the Allied forces on the Danube; his hopes were realised, and his army was defeated. But from the first he had been confident that the Crimea was the distinct ground for decisive warfare. When, therefore, he learned that the general and high-admiral commanding

in the Crimea had refused to believe in the likelihood of a descent, Gortschakoff resolved to waken the sleeper from a false security. Having discovered the danger, he proceeded not only to inform his colleague, but also to suggest to him the most efficient method of coping with this danger. The engineering skill of young Todleben was strongly recommended. His devotion to the study of military engineering had been unstinted, and there had even been a period when his practice of the business of mining had kept him principally underground for the third part of each year. But as Mr. Kinglake, his great admirer, has written about him, "Although his craft had been learnt at this great cost and toil, he was saved from the mistake of overrating it by his strong common sense, but also, perhaps, by his wholesome experience of the trenches before Silistria, and the rough tasks of war in the Caucasus."

When Mentschikoff refused to believe in the descent of the Allies upon the Crimea, Todleben continued to warn. The Prince said, in August, "it was too late for a descent that year; and that there would be peace before next summer." The most complete answer to all this was the arrival of the Allied forces within three weeks of the arrival of Todleben as the guest of Sebastopol. Setting at once to work with the materials at his hand, with the unfaltering assistance of Korniloff, Chief of the Staff of the Black Sea Fleet, his nimble, practical mind utilised the material resources of the almost useless fleet, great part of which he had broken up for his own fortifications. Korniloff, though capable of inspiring his soldiers and marines with an almost superstitious devotion to himself, failed signally in supporting the devotional spirit during the many long intervals when there seemed no possible prospect of sustaining the siege. Todleben, on the contrary, diffused no spiritual fervour amongst the men, but by moving slowly amongst them from morning to night, and far on again into the morning, forced them by his example of "practicality" to do the utmost that men were capable of doing. He freed the jails, whose criminals, when appealed to for "Holy Russia," forgot their crimes and their disgrace, and toiled with the fervour which, under the continuous fire of a powerful enemy, converted an almost open city into a fortress, and resisted for more than a year all the efforts of England and France. Todleben's contempt for all fanciful methods of defence was frequently and effectively displayed. Upon one occasion at Korniloff's dinner-table, some enthusiast suggested an elaborate system, which he worked out with the verbiage of a philosopher, and the complaisance of a mathematician. "There ought," retorted Todleben, "to be no listening to such suggestions. The way towards doing what is possible to the defending of Sebastopol lies straight and clear before us. We must not make waste of our time, and disperse our energies by thinking of other plans; all the minutes we have, we want." When the Russian field army undertook its flank march, Colonel Todleben remained at Sebastopol. "What Todleben judged to be right, Admiral Korniloff compelled men to do." If Korniloff was the soul, the great engineer was the mind of the defence. The prize indeed was well worthy of the efforts which the two contending armies were making for the possession. Besides the town and a great number of Government works and buildings which were contained within its fortifications, there was an immense system of docks, constructed with great skill, and at enormous expense, of solid masonry, and supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct twelve miles long, formed of gigantic blocks of stone. The Russian fleet in Sebastopol at the time of commencement of hostilities comprised eighteen line-of-battle ships, seven frigates, thirty-two steamers, thirty-six smaller war-vessels, twenty-eight gunboats, and thirty transports. On October 17th, the Allies made a tremendous and simultaneous attack by land and sea. Both attacks were complete failures, and on the 25th of the same month an army of 30,000 Russians advanced against the English position, hoping to get possession of the harbours, and to cut the Allies off from their supplies. This attack was met by Sir Colin Campbell



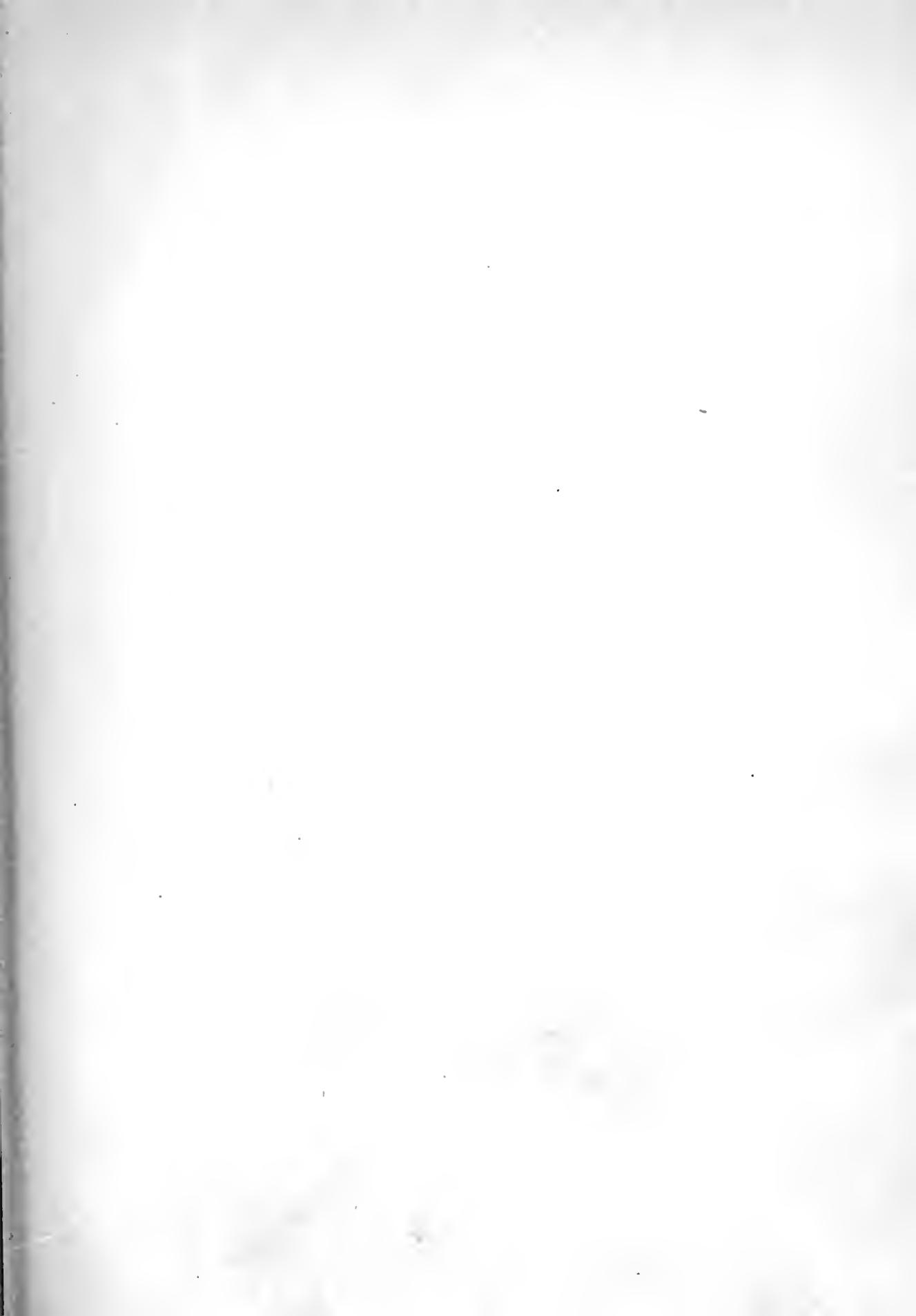
and his Highlanders with the utmost firmness, and it was during this engagement that the memorable incident occurred which left a hundred and ninety-eight men alive at the end of a cavalry charge, in which over six hundred men had started. With the events which occurred outside the walls of Sebastopol it was no part of Todleben's duty to be connected, and it is not necessary for our present purpose to consider them further. Within the fortress, a description of the works which he directed would require, for intelligible purposes, more space and time than we can bestow upon it. His own book, translated into French, is a scientific and elaborate treatise, with exhaustive criticism upon composition, operations, mistakes, successes, and administration of the different nationalities engaged in the protracted contest. An abridgment of his book by the *Times* correspondent, Mr. W. H. Russell, is even too special in its arrangement to be further abridged in this short notice of the illustrious Russian, but to the appreciative pages of Mr. Russell, and to numerous chapters of Mr. Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea," we would with confidence refer the reader for full information upon one of the important sieges of history. Whilst the siege was going on, and before General Todleben had received the wound which compelled him to retire, a figure on horseback was perpetually to be seen from the trenches directing the pointing of a gun, or giving instructions for the repairing of a breach. Frequently the guns of the enemy were carefully levelled at this solitary figure, and when in 1865, General Todleben visited England, an English officer was amused to find that the contemplative horseman at whom so frequently his glasses and guns had been directed was none other than the famous engineer, and now distinguished guest. Within twelve months he advanced from the grade of Colonel to that of Adjutant-General, and received, among other distinctions, the decoration of the fourth and third class of the Order of St. George; the latter being a reward which is conferred only for brilliant deeds, and upon the proposal of the Knights of the Order.

When, owing to his wound, he was compelled to retire from Sebastopol, he was entrusted by the Emperor with the defence of Nicolaieff, threatened by the Allies, and afterwards sent to protect Cronstadt. The case of General Todleben is a remarkable instance of the vacillating policy of the Court party in Russia. In each of the campaigns in which he had been engaged, from his first period of service against the Circassians in 1848, he invariably gained the confidence and esteem of his leaders. His promotion, for many years, considering his almost unique qualifications in the highest branch of military science, was more than usually slow, and even after all his splendid success at Sebastopol, the influence of the Court party seems to have been invariably opposed to him. However, an opportunity was afforded to him of reversing the operation of this Court influence at the siege of Plevna. After the Russian defeat before that town, September 11th, 1877, General Todleben was invited to undertake the reduction of the stronghold. Immediately upon his arrival at Russian headquarters, he proceeded to direct regular siege operations, by sap and mine, against the Turkish fortifications. The place, being completely invested, was at length compelled, after one of the most heroic defences on record, to submit at discretion; and during the temporary illness of the Grand Duke Nicholas, when the Russian forces were encamped before Constantinople, Todleben received the reward of his State services, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army. It is, however, with the defence of Sebastopol that Todleben's name is inseparably connected. Two of the finest armies of Western Europe, sent out amidst the heartiest and loudest plaudits of their people, were drawn up before an almost undefended town in the Crimea. The Government of France entered into competition with that of England to procure the finest war material for this campaign. The Generals on either side were influenced by the same spirit of generous rivalry which pervaded the two armies, and two



nations which had been at war for eight centuries were at last comrades in the trenches. But the forethought and skill of one man—without whose presence, in all human probability, Sebastopol would have fallen at once—created so much spirit, energy, and enthusiasm, that France and England were kept at bay for twelve long months. A short statement in the *Times* newspaper describes with sufficient pathos, not mentioning names or probable causes, the facts about the disasters which Todleben's genius caused amongst the attacking forces. "It were mere waste of time to re-describe events, the memory of which is already riveted in the public mind—the advance on the Alma, the indecisive skirmish of the 19th, the glorious victory of the 20th September, purchased by the lives of so many brave men, the march to Balaklava, and the commencement of the siege. Up to the 17th of October, when we opened fire, all appears to have gone prosperously. Some regret or doubt might be felt as to the policy of allowing the enemy to throw up, undisturbed, strong earthworks in our front; but our engineers were confident that they would fall before the first efforts of our batteries, and civilians were disposed to acquiesce in tactics which promised a sure success without the effusion of blood. On that unhappy day, the real nature of our enterprise disclosed itself. The French batteries were silenced in a few hours, and our men could barely maintain themselves against the overwhelming fire of the Russians; but, worse than all, our fleet failed in the attempt to silence Fort Constantine, and failed, apparently, because only a small part of the ships was brought up to the point from which alone their broadsides could hope to be effective. We still hope everything from our men and our gallant Allies; but the result undoubtedly is that, under the pressure of the present war, our military departments, with the single exception of the Commissariat, have completely broken down." Such was the wailing of the *Times* over the frustration of a country's hopes. For nine months longer the same process of frustration continued, and it was not until the 8th of September, 1855, after a furious bombardment of three days, when the Allies assaulted the town in five places, that the Russians were compelled to withdraw across the bridge, leaving their town, stores, and artillery in the hands of the Allies. To Todleben is due all the praise of his countrymen for having deferred this Allied hope for more than twelve months. Since the Crimean War, except during the short period when engaged at the investment of Plevna, he has been devoted to literary and scientific studies, which we hope the state of Europe may enable him to continue without interruption, until military engineering has attained to such perfection, that it shall have improved all warfare off the face of the earth.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Ad. Braun & Cie., Paris.]





From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic  
Company & Cheapside

HUMBERT KING OF ITALY

## HUMBERT KING OF ITALY

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ONE of the most costly and of living historical documents which Europe is the story of the construction of the Italian Kingdom. Europe is the story of that people's unintegration. Italy, the land of the Italian language, has rebounded over and over again to the feet of foreign conquerors. In epochs they have taken Germany, France, Spain, and Switzerland, to name the most lawlessness of the hunting of veneries, the fast fields, and to crush the very spirit of a nation which had once been mistress and wonder of a world. For long and as Italy has been merely a geographical and ethnographical division of Europe possessing no national unity. The country had been divided during the Middle Ages into independent republics, principalities, and monarchies, which were constantly changing in name, number, and territory. By the treaty of Vienna, 1815, Italy was again divided into the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, which was united with Austria, and the Republic of San Marino, and the Principality of Monaco. In 1848, the Kingdom of Sardinia annexed Lombardy, Parma, Piacenza, and the part of the Papal States, and the Two Sicilies, and in February, 1849, it annexed the Kingdom of Italy. For our present purpose it is necessary to take a brief review of the history of the king of Sardinia, and of the kingdom of Italy, and of the kingdom of Sardinia, and of the kingdom of Italy. And this object—setting all reference to the past, and to the present, and to the future, as far as their story is necessarily concerned with the great events of the present, and to notice the history of the king and the careers of a few distinguished men who by their own courage, patriotism, and genius have been enabled to give political life to the Italian mass. The House of Savoy has undergone a revolution and now has changed since its first appearance in the eleventh century, when its leaders were the mere owners of a small fief in the Western Alps. Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, after various vicissitudes, acquired a part of the Duchy of Milan, and the Kingdom of Sicily, which he exchanged for the island of Sardinia, with the title of king. Thus, after having been count of Savoy for seven hundred years, these princes were ranked among royal dynasties and almost all the European monarchs. In our own time Savoy has given one king to Spain, and to one of the kingly others, and enduring, but at a compensation for the Spanish throne, and a representative of the House of Savoy, and of the second king of Italy, and of the king that Savoy has been selected for leadership. The chapter of accidents and of such a result to the Italian history of Savoy has contributed more. But, to the Italian story, the ultimate triumph of Sardinia is due principally to a dozen personal and political failures. When the Congress met in 1815, at Vienna, to settle the fate of the continent,



## HUMBERT, KING OF ITALY.

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ONE of the most distinguished of living historians has written that the history of ancient Europe is the story of the construction of the Roman Empire, and the history of modern Europe is the story of that empire's disintegration. During the long process of this disintegration, Italian territory has resounded over and over again to the tread of foreign armies, as at different epochs they issued from Germany, France, Spain, and Switzerland, to devastate, with all the lawlessness of fortune-hunting mercenaries, the fair fields, and to crush the proud spirit of a nation which had once been mistress and wonder of a world. For long centuries Italy had been merely a geographical and ethnographical division of Europe, possessing no political unity. The country had been divided during the Middle Ages into independent commonwealths, republics, and monarchies, which were constantly changing in name, number, and extent. By the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, Italian territory was divided into the Kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma, Lucca, and Modena, the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom (which was united with Austria), the Republic of San Marino, and the Principality of Monaco. Lucca ceased to be an independent State in 1847. The King of Sardinia, in 1859 and 1860, annexed Lombardy, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, a part of the Papal States, and the Two Sicilies; and in February, 1861, assumed the title of King of Italy. For our present purpose it is necessary to follow rapidly the course of events by which the king of such a seemingly insignificant place as Sardinia became transformed into the king of united Italy. With this object—omitting all reference to the other Italian States, except in so far as their story is necessarily interweaved with the great war of independence—we shall briefly notice the House of Savoy and the careers of a few distinguished men, who, by their well-directed courage, patriotism, and genius, have been enabled to give political cohesion to a heterogeneous mass. The House of Savoy has undergone endless and marvellous changes since its first appearance in the eleventh century, when its leaders were the mere owners of a small mountain territory in the Western Alps. Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, after various vicissitudes, acquired in 1713 a part of the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Sicily, which he exchanged in 1720 for the island of Sardinia, with the title of king. Thus, after having been counts and dukes of Savoy for seven hundred years, these princes were ranked among royal dynasties and allied with almost all the European houses. In our own time Savoy has given one king to Spain, whose tenure of the kingly office was not enduring, but, as if in compensation for the Spanish failure, the elder representative of the house is firmly established as the second king of Italy. How does it happen that Savoy has been selected for leadership? The chapter of accidents has contributed much to such a result; the tradition of sturdy patriotism has contributed more. But, paradoxical as it may seem, the ultimate triumph of Sardinia is due principally to a diligent perseverance in successful failures. When the Congress met in 1815, at Vienna, to settle the fate of the countries which

Buonaparte had lost, the Italians hailed with delight the success of the Allies ; but once more their hopes were doomed to disappointment. In almost every case they were handed back to the masters who had ruled them before the French Revolution, and Italy became again the battle-field for the conflicting interests of Europe. From 1815 to 1848 Italy can scarcely be said to have had a history. There are endless records of intrigues, conspiracies, and abortive revolutions. Native princes, under the power or in the pay of Austria, issued constitutional manifestoes, which they never intended to observe, and made promises only to be broken. The House of Savoy, as usual, was somewhat of an exception to this prevailing anarchy of the other States. In 1831 the elder line of the House had failed, and the younger branch ascended the throne with Charles Albert. In his foreign policy Charles Albert was unsuccessful, but his domestic administration was prudent and vigorous. The material resources of the country were developed with great sagacity, and the State was brought to a most prosperous condition. He was unstable and intermeddling and intriguing, but he possessed the well-known qualities of his race : he was brave, he was an Italian, and he heartily detested the rule of Austria. In 1848 he gave a free constitution, and the whole of Italy looked naturally to Sardinia, and Charles Albert as the leader, in a war for independence. In 1849 Milan and Venice rose against Austria, and Charles Albert hurriedly entered the Austrian dominion in Italy at the head of an allied army. This campaign is the shortest upon record. It lasted just four days, and on the 23rd of March the Sardinian army was totally defeated at the battle of Novara, by Radetzky, the Austrian marshal. On the evening after the battle Charles Albert signed his abdication in favour of his eldest son, Victor Emmanuel II., and died broken-hearted at Oporto in 1851.

A turning-point had been reached in Italian history. Men's eyes were fixed upon the King of Sardinia, who, with all his faults, loved Italy, had manifested more liberal sympathies and tendencies than any of his contemporaries, and had harboured great hopes of a liberated country. His defeat at Novara seemed the last blow to every national aspiration, but in that moment of supreme despair the dauntless courage of one brave man renewed the spirit of a nation, and Victor Emmanuel, who had hitherto been known only as a sportsman and a pleasure-seeker, breathed new life into a dying movement. The first terms of peace offered by Radetzky were haughtily rejected, and his messengers were sent back with the reply "that rather than accept such conditions the King of Italy would fight to his last man." Terms less humiliating were eventually accepted, and Victor Emmanuel proceeded to adjust the internal affairs of his kingdom. Guided by Count Cavour, he reorganised the finances, the army, and the system of public instruction ; concluded with England several treaties of commerce ; established railways, and promoted free trade. When France and England were preparing to enter upon the Crimean expedition, Cavour, who looked upon Russia as the main support of despotic rule in Europe, advised his king to enter into an alliance with the Western Powers. Thereupon a convention was concluded with the Allies, and Italy despatched a force of 17,000 to the Crimea, which, under General de la Marmora, distinguished itself on the banks of the Tchernaya, and, besides its vast political results, helped to remove a stigma which had begun to gain currency—"The Italians don't fight!" Sardinia took part also in the Congress of Paris, which was held in 1856, to arrange terms of peace between the Allies and Russia. Cavour took this opportunity of laying before the representatives an able paper upon the condition of Italy. Thenceforth Sardinia, as the only distinct national power in Italy, took part in all international deliberations.

Meanwhile other forces were at work for the consummation of a task which a brave king, or an astute system of diplomacy, could, without such assistance, never have successfully accomplished.



Manzoni in his famous novel, *I Promessi Sposi*, in his poems and tragedies, raised his voice against foreign domination. Satirists called upon Italian-speaking men to remember that "they were all born in the Boot"—referring to the shape of Italy—and that "this very Boot, their own property, was engaged in kicking its owners." The society of "Young Italy" was organised by Mazzini, and its operations, although frequently clashing with the views of Cavour and the dictates of the king, all converged towards the one great point of stimulating the patriotic energies of a people, and firing them with an indomitable ardour for the possession of their own country. Mazzini has been falsely stigmatised as having sanctioned assassination, and as being a mere vulgar conspirator. When, after his death, all his works and correspondence and the experiences of his friends had been collected and compared, the universal opinion was formed that Mazzini's had been the purest, noblest life in Europe. It is true that he was an extreme Republican, and therefore opposed to all forms of personal government; he frequently thwarted the deep-laid schemes of diplomacy which seemed to him as merely helping to transfer tyranny from an Austrian to an Italian despot; but he was the first Italian statesman of modern times who saw clearly that Italy might, and some day would, become not merely a federation of different powers, but one solid state, "broad-based" upon the will of its people. With the poet's eye and the martyr's devotion, he caught far-off glimpses of the result, and with the genius of his own enthusiasm inspired "Young Italy," through the long hours of her dark night, with the clear hope of an ultimate dawn. Count Cavour directed the movement through his influence with foreign states; Mazzini preached and wrote and schemed for liberty; Garibaldi laid hold of the sword, and accomplished the hardest portion of the actual fighting. Cowed as the Italians had been by foreign armies and the paralysing influences of their religious superstitions, diplomacy most astute, rhetoric most inspiring, poetry most elevating were all wasted forces so long as physical courage was in abeyance. Garibaldi supplied the flint from which a spark was struck to set a fuse to the powder of Italian courage. The "Red-shirt Madman," with his hastily collected volunteers, moved like an avenging spirit over the land, destroying giants of Austrian and Vatican oppression. He obeyed no order but his own instincts. If those instincts had been false, Garibaldi became a criminal; they were true, so he only developed into a hero! After his defence of Rome and the delivery of Naples, when Cavour and the king were troubled as to the ulterior object of the successful "Dictator," Garibaldi, at the head of his volunteers, went out to meet Victor Emmanuel, and swelled the triumphal procession through Naples of him whom his people hailed at last as King of Italy. Such title, however, was not fully ratified until after the Treaty of Villa Franca, which followed upon the successes of Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino, at which battles the Emperor of the French and Victor Emmanuel had been personally present. In return for allowing the Italians of Central Italy to join themselves to Sardinia, Napoleon insisted upon receiving Savoy and Nice as checks upon Italian progress. Much to the chagrin of Victor Emmanuel he was compelled to surrender the "glorious cradle of his monarchy."

The Parliament assembled at Turin, March 7th, 1861, formally established the title of King of Italy, which was recognised by England and France. A treaty for the transfer of the seat of Government from Turin to Florence, and the evacuation of Rome by the French in two years, was signed September, 1864.

Such were the associations under which a nation has resumed its youth, and with that youth grew up the Prince who now rules over Italy and who forms the legitimate subject of the present sketch. Humbert Rénier Charles Emmanuel Jean Marie Ferdinand Eugène, heir apparent and

Prince of Piedmont, the eldest son of Victor Emmanuel and the Archduchess Adelaide of Austria, was born March 14th, 1844. At an early age he became conversant with political and military life under the guidance of his father. When he had reached his fourteenth year his father conferred upon him the rank of captain in an infantry regiment, because "he wished to attach him to the army whose perils and glories he should one day share when the honour of the country required it." The leading incidents of the Prince's life since that time have been connected with the camp or with the throne. In 1862 he took an active part in re-organising the ancient kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and, in company with Garibaldi, inaugurated rifle clubs throughout the kingdom. An excellent effect was produced upon the minds of the people when they found the old popular hero thus manifesting his affectionate respect for the young Prince, whilst both were engaged in trying their skill as marksmen. When the war between Prussia and Austria was imminent, Prince Humbert was despatched to Paris to ascertain the sentiments of the French Government in reference to the alliance between Italy and Prussia. On the outbreak of hostilities he hastened to take the field, and obtained command of the 16th Army Corps, a division of General Cialdini's army. In the town of Villa Franca, whilst the battle of Custozza was being fought, Prince Humbert proved himself worthy of the illustrious name he bore. At the head of a battalion of the 49th regiment belonging to his division he had pushed a reconnaissance towards Villa Franca, when suddenly he found himself enveloped by two Lancer regiments. "Form square, my boys," he cried, "and teach those Croats how we defend the regiment's flag"; remaining himself in the midst, the charge of the Lancers was successfully repulsed. In this battle his brother, Prince Amadeus, received a severe wound in the chest while leading a brigade of Grenadiers. The conduct of both young princes on this occasion won golden opinions, and recalls the joyous bearing of their father upon other battle-fields, amidst the rattling bullets and bursting shells, "which made," he said, "the only music he could ever understand." In the course of time it became necessary for the young Prince to enter into another engagement more important than even that of Custozza—it was necessary to select a bride. Circumstances had combined to prevent Prince Humbert's marriage until his twenty-fourth year. A fatal accident had carried off the young Archduchess who had been fixed upon as a suitable match to strengthen the growing friendship between the Houses of Savoy and Hapsburg. In 1868, when the time required by Court ceremonies had elapsed, Victor Emmanuel gave directions to his Minister to find a bride for the Prince—"Voglio assolutamente ch'ella mi trovi una sposa per Umberto." The Minister replied that she was ready, and only awaited the will of his Majesty and the consent of the Prince. The lady who had been selected for the future Queen was the Princess Margherite, daughter of the Duke of Genoa and first cousin of Prince Humbert. Victor Emmanuel had been appointed guardian of Margherite and Tommaso upon the death of their father, and although he had always looked upon these children with the utmost affection, he had never thought of his niece in the light of a potential daughter-in-law. The Minister urged the great merits and virtues of the princess, and the necessity for speedy action, as the young Prince of Roumania was exerting himself to the utmost to find favour in the lady's eyes. The King hastened to assure himself upon the statements of his Minister, and declaring that he was a fool for not having earlier perceived the great suitability of such an alliance, entered at once into preliminaries of the alliance. The marriage was celebrated with much splendour at Turin, in presence of all the Royal Family, April 22nd, 1868. Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clothilde came from Paris, Queen Pia from Portugal, and Prince Frederick from Germany. Between the latter and Prince Humbert a strong friendship has existed which augurs fair for the

future relations of two countries which have only just entered upon their nationality. On the occasion of the marriage Victor Emmanuel instituted a new order of knighthood, called *La Corona d'Italia*. The Princess Margherite, who was well known to be devoted to the interests and traditions of her own House of Savoy, was received throughout Italy with the wildest acclamations of delight, and to the present time preserves that deep affection of her people which they have symbolised in the title bestowed upon her on her wedding-day: "The Star of Italy." Of the union between Prince Humbert and the Princess, a son was born at Naples, November 11, 1869, who received the names of Victor Emmanuel Ferdinand Mary Januarius, and the title of Prince of Naples.

Events in Italy now hurry on apace. The Court was still at Florence, the Pope was still at Rome, and for the unification of his kingdom Victor Emmanuel required Rome as his capital. After war had been declared between France and Prussia in 1870, France required all the forces which she could possibly bring together, and in August of that year the French army of occupation left Rome. On September 2nd the French army surrendered at Sedan, and on the 20th, after a feeble show of resistance by the troops of the Pope, the royal troops entered Rome, followed, on the 31st of December, by the King himself, who now took possession of his capital. Thus the Pope ceased to be a temporal prince, and lost all power, except that spiritual jurisdiction which he still exercises over so many minds in different countries. In 1871 Prince Humbert took up his residence in the Eternal City, where, with few intermissions, he has since that time maintained his Court. On New Year's Day, 1878, Victor Emmanuel was seized with a sudden and serious illness, aggravated by the sudden news of General de la Marmora's death. Upon the morning of the 9th symptoms of the most alarming character appeared, when it was intimated by his physicians that the end was approaching, and that it were well to receive the rites of the Church. The King had not been a devout man, though he had been a very superstitious one. His maxim had been: "Act fairly by your people first, then you may eat, drink, and be merry, always provided that you can see a priest half an hour before you die." When told that the chaplain was in waiting, "What," he said, "are we come to that?" ("*Siamo li?*") Being well propped up with pillows, he arranged his hands upon the coverlet for the more convenient twirling of his thumbs: "Very well, I will do as you say; call the chaplain." After the Sacrament had been administered he continued to twirl his thumbs, and to mutter much about Italy and his people, until late in the afternoon he breathed his last in the arms of his son, Prince Humbert. Thus died *Il Ré Galantuomo*, a title which not Garibaldi nor D'Azeglio had conferred upon him, but which he dubbed himself upon an interesting occasion. When some of his promises of granting a constitution were met with delicate suggestions about similar promises of his father Charles Albert, which remained unfulfilled, he answered with: "Me pader l'era un baloss, ma mi son galantom!" ("My father was a rogue, but I am an honest man!") This remark he made with sly humour, using the word for rogue in a sense corresponding with that term when used in English in its secondary sense as a word of playful endearment. His honesty and integrity and valour were purer than his Italian dialect, which he never succeeded in mastering, and his character remains indelibly stamped upon the hearts of his people as a brave, upright, fearless king. A commotion was caused in his native place (Turin, where all his ancestors had been buried) by the intelligence that the beloved King was to find his grave in Rome. King Humbert ended the dispute by explaining, in a long letter to the Piedmontese, that national and political reasons had influenced him in taking such a step. He wrote: "To forsake the tomb of my ancestors seems to myself and my family unbearable; but after protracted deliberation we have decided that Rome is the

most fitting resting-place for the first king of a united Italy." As a slight compensation, the favourite sword of Victor Emmanuel, which had been the companion of his restless life, was sent to his own people.

On his accession to the throne, King Humbert suffered somewhat at first from the contrast which his rigid hauteur had afforded to the genial *bonhomie* of his father. On two or three occasions, when it had been reported that a coolness or estrangement had taken place between the Prince and Princess Margherite, a deep-mouthed growl of dissatisfaction was heard throughout the country. Before the late King's death such domestic differences had completely ceased, and "The Star of Italy," having from the first won for herself the affection of the nation, attracted to her husband its confidence and hope. Prince Humbert has shown himself fully deserving of both. On coming to the throne, he engaged to settle his father's liabilities (36,000,000 lire) out of his own private purse. He dismissed some of the late King's unworthy favourites; sold the superfluous stud of Arab and English horses, which had cost much, and for which there was no particular use. He determined to part with the vast hunting estates of Castel Porziano, which had been bought by the nation and presented to his father. In the wisdom, generosity, and self-denial of the new King people saw a resemblance to Henry V. of Shakespeare, and the apparent change from the haughty, unpopular prince to the king of genial manners and of profound emotional qualities, affords one more remarkable instance of the little importance which can be attached to prognostications of a young man's future merits.

The following proclamation was issued by the new King late in the evening of the day upon which his father died:—"Italians!—An immense calamity has befallen us. Victor Emmanuel, the founder and uniter of the Kingdom of Italy, has been taken from us. I received his last sigh, which was for the nation, and his last wishes, which were for the happiness of his people. His voice, which will always resound in my heart, imposes upon me the task of vanquishing my sorrow, and points out to me my duty. At this moment there is but one consolation possible for us; that is, to show ourselves worthy of him—I, by following in his footsteps; you, by remaining devoted to those civic virtues by the aid of which he succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of rendering Italy great and united. I shall be mindful of the grand example he gave me of devotion to our country, love of progress, and faith in liberal institutions, which are the pride of my house. My sole ambition will be to deserve the love of my people. Italians! Your first king is dead. His successor will prove to you that constitutions do not die. Let us unite in this hour of great sorrow, and let us strengthen that concord which has heretofore been the salvation of Italy.—UMBERTO." When the time for lying-in-state had elapsed three great ceremonies followed in succession: the administering of the oaths to the Roman garrison, the funeral procession from the Quirinal to the Pantheon, and King Humbert's oath of fidelity to the constitution, taken in the House of Deputies, before the united Senators and Deputies. On this last occasion the House was unprecedentedly crowded. The Queens of Italy and Portugal were in the gallery to the right of the throne, attended by the Prince Imperial of Germany, Archduke Rénier, and Court ladies and gentlemen. In the gallery to the left of the throne were the Diplomatic body, and the special representatives of Foreign Courts. At two o'clock the King entered, preceded by the princes of the blood, Prince Amadeus and Prince Carignano, attended by the Court officials and ministers. The throne was guarded by the King's cuirassiers. The place of the Presidency of the Chamber was covered with scarlet cloth, beneath a long canopy hung with black. The whole House was draped with mourning. Immediately upon entering the King took his seat on the throne, and bade all present be seated. Signor Crispi, Minister of the Interior,

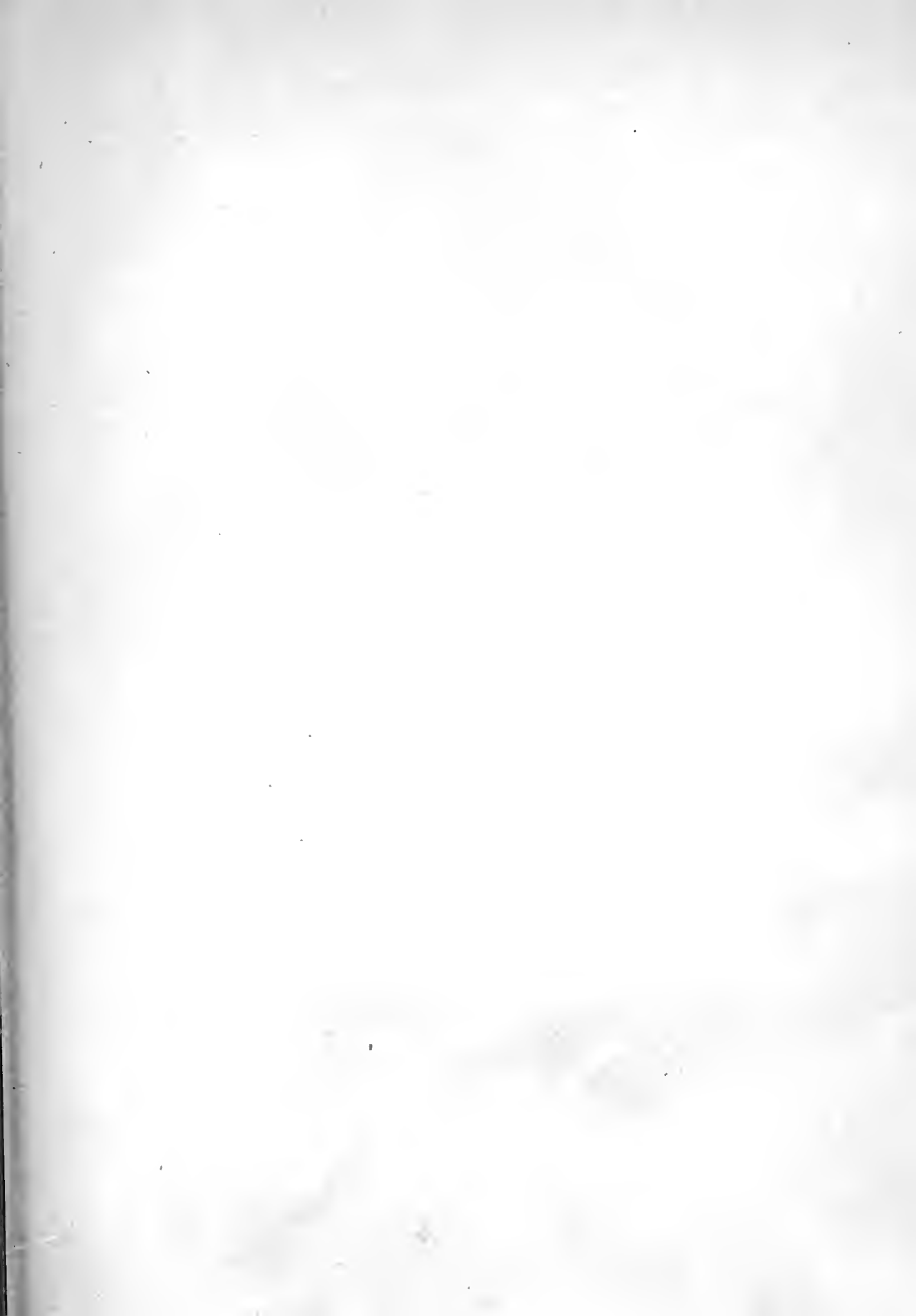
then announced that the King would take the oath to the constitution; whereupon the King rose, and, with a clear, ringing voice, read the form of oath:—"In the presence of God and before the Nation, I swear to maintain the constitution, to exercise the royal authority in accordance with the laws, and on the strength of them to have justice rendered to every one according to his right, and to conduct every act of my government with the only object of the interest, the well-being, and the honour of the country." The oath was then administered by the Minister of Justice to the Senators, and by the Home Minister to the Deputies.

One deplorable incident has disturbed the calm tenor of King Humbert's rule. Naples had been for centuries the chosen home of the bandit and the assassin, and it was scarcely to be expected that a few years of vigorous constitutional government could have extirpated all the plague-spots of long-established corruptions. As the King was entering Naples in state, on the 17th of November, a man, poorly dressed, approached the royal carriage and attempted to assassinate his Majesty with a poniard. Signor Cairoli, the Prime Minister, who accompanied the King, laid hands on the assassin and was wounded in the thigh. The King at the same time drew his sword and struck the man; whilst in the act of doing so he himself received a scratch. The author of the attempt, on being questioned, declared that he belonged to no society, but being poor had always cherished strong feelings of hatred towards kings in general. Queen Margherite and her son, the Prince of Naples, who were in the carriage with the King, displayed that courage which, in our times at least, seems to be almost the invariable characteristic of Royalty. Their Majesties on arriving at the palace appeared on the balcony, when they were greeted with frantic cheers. It afforded a strong proof of the amicable relation subsisting between the King and the inhabitants of probably the least reliable portion of his kingdom, that even the ultra-radical press laboured to prove that Passinanti's attempt had no connection whatever with any socialist organisation. Count Aurelio Saffi, speaking in the name of the Mazzinian party, wrote to the Republican organ: "We protest indignantly against the insane misdeed. For us life is sacred, whether in a king or in a humble citizen. The advance of the times, and the collective forces of the people require the death of no one." Within a very short time the young King of Spain had been made the object of a similar attack, and the aged Emperor of Germany suffered seriously at the hands of a would-be murderer. There can be no doubt that the ramifications of secret societies have extended in Europe, and that, especially in Russia and Germany, they possess a force and pertinacity of which no human eye can forecast the result. It, however, is satisfactory to note that the immediate consequence of each attempted assassination within the last few years, has been merely to evoke a spirit of loyal enthusiasm, which has contributed more than a successful war to strengthen the possessor on his throne, and has called into prominence the latent sympathies of thousands whose leanings would otherwise have been towards more democratic or republican forms of government. In Italy, after the attempt upon King Humbert, the tide of loyalty gathered force and volume at every stage of the King's progress through his dominion. On his entry into Rome, the vast circular space of the ruined baths of Diocletian contained a crowd of four thousand Roman citizens and representatives of working-men's societies, with distinctive banners, who marched in procession after the royal carriage. Such spontaneous loyalty is possibly compensation enough for the temporary scratch from a madman's knife, but we sincerely trust that Italian loyalty may never again be called upon for an outburst extracted by such dastardly circumstances.

Looking back upon the events which have transpired in Europe during the interval between

the battle of Novara and the present time, Italy may justly be congratulated upon the almost unique security of her position. Those thirty years have witnessed at one time the humiliation of Russia, and have found her upon two occasions with exhausted treasury. Turkey has been defeated in a disastrous war; has been deprived of the most valuable of her tributaries, and, bankrupt in character and finances, drifts on to the insignificance she deserves. Austria, defeated in the campaign of 1866, seems as incapable of combining the opposing elements of her empire at home as she was incapable of retaining her military establishments in Italy. Germany, under the leadership of Prussia, has been transformed into a camp, and without even the semblance of a constitution, stands at "attention" to the command of an iron-handed autocrat. France has experienced the joys and sorrows of two Republics and one fantastic Empire; she is still in pain, but with the wisdom begotten of suffering, has ceased flying at the sun, and now, with feet on firm ground, toils bravely towards the light. Italy alone of the great Continental nations has gained everything and lost nothing. "Half a century ago," asks a great living writer, "what was Italy? An idling-place of dilettantism, or of itinerant motiveless wealth; a territory parcelled out for Papal sustenance, dynastic convenience, and the profit of an alien government. What were the Italians? No people, no voice in European councils, no massive power in European affairs. A race thought of in English and French society as chiefly adapted to the operatic stage, or to serve as models for painters; disposed to smile gratefully at the reception of halfpence; and by the more historical, remembered to be rather polite than truthful; in all probability, a combination of Machiavelli, Rubini, and Masaniello. Thanks chiefly to the divine gift of a memory which inspires the moments with a past, a present, and a future, and gives the sense of corporate existence that raises man above the otherwise more respectable and innocent brute, all that, or most of it, is changed."

*[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the Stereoscopic Co., London.]*







From a photograph published by M. F. P. ...  
Berlin & London

DR. VON DOELLINGER.

## DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER.

DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER may be regarded as the greatest ecclesiastical scholar of the nineteenth century. In his own country no one but Bishop Wislizenus in Bonn, and no one but Dupanloup in England no one but Bishop Wilberforce in England, were so much in sympathy with him for that combination of learning and practical ability which makes a great scholar. Dupanloup was a man of talent and activity, but not so much as Dr Doellinger. He was a man of learning, but without active talents. All both of them showed lack of energy in carrying out their convictions when the trial came. Newman, who fled from an extreme of doctrinal rigidity to save himself from an extreme of scepticism, has been extinguished under the weight of a cardinal; Wilberforce has passed away peacefully. Dr Doellinger is eighty years of age, but his rôle is not yet played out. His name serves to mark for all time a position prominently in the history of the nineteenth century as that of a scholar who was more than a scholar in the sixteenth.

John Joseph Ignatius von Doellinger, born at Würzburg on the 12th of December 1805, was educated at Würzburg. He was ordained priest in 1828, and became professor in the ecclesiastical seminary at Aschaffenburg. He was appointed professor of theology at Munich in 1837. He commenced life as a student and his first work appeared the first product of his pen, entitled "Die Doctrinen der Päpste von den ersten Jahrhunderten." In 1838 was issued the first volume of his "Geschichte des Papstthums," and the second volume of the same work, under its appearance. In 1840 he published "Die Geschichte des Mahomet." In 1841 he published "Die Geschichte der Theologie." In 1842 he published "Die Reformation, ihre Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wirkung." At the same time he was delivering lectures before the University of Munich on the history of the "politische Blätter." At this time too, he began to hold a private seminar for six years, taking young men into his house as boarders, and during these studies he exercised general supervision while they attended the lectures of the university, made use of his library, and listened to his instructive table-talk. Most of these young men were English, and one of them, Lord Acton, stayed for four years in his house—a period which laid the foundation of that love of historical investigation and of truth for which Acton, which Lord Acton is exceptionally noticeable among lay Roman Catholics.

Doellinger's connection with England and Englishmen dates as far back as 1835, when he paid a visit to our shores, and made many friends among the old Roman Catholics. In 1861 he paid England a second visit, and on this occasion formed the acquaintance of many Anglican Churchmen—Dr. Peck, Mr. Charles Marriott, Dean Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln. For the third time he came among us in the year 1898, and it was only his seventy-ninth winters and his numerous occupations which prevented his attendance at a Conference held at Farnham Castle under the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester.



## DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER.

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DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER may be regarded as the greatest ecclesiastic of the present century. In his own country no one but Bishop Hefele, in France no one but Bishop Dupanloup, in England no one but Bishop Wilberforce and Cardinal Newman can be compared with him for that combination of learning and practical ability which makes a great Churchman. Dupanloup was a man of talent and activity, but not remarkable for learning; Hefele is a man of learning, but without active talents; and both of them showed lack of courage to maintain their convictions when the trial came. Newman, who fled to an extreme of dogmatism in order to save himself from an extreme of scepticism, has been extinguished under the hat of a cardinal; Wilberforce has passed away prematurely. Doellinger is eighty years of age, but his rôle is not yet played out. His name represents an idea, and it may yet stand as prominently in the history of the nineteenth century as that of Cyprian in the third century or of Luther in the sixteenth.

John Joseph Ignatius von Doellinger was born on February 28th, 1799, at Bamberg, and was educated at Wurzburg. He was ordained in 1822, and having been for a short time professor in the ecclesiastical seminary at Aschaffenberg, he was appointed one of the faculty of theology at Munich in 1826. He commenced life as a student and an author. In 1826 appeared the first product of his pen, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Eucharist in the First Three Centuries." In 1833 was issued the first volume of his "Church History," and in 1835 the second volume of the same work made its appearance. In 1838 he published "The Religion of Mahomet." "A Compendium of the History of the Church down to the Reformation" and "The Reformation: its Internal Development and its Effects" followed. At the same time he was delivering lectures before the University of Munich, and was editor of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*. At this time, too, he began a habit, which he continued for some years, of taking young men into his house as boarders or pupils, over whose studies he exercised a general superintendence, while they attended the lectures of the university, made use of his library, and listened to his instructive table-talk. Most of these young men were Englishmen; and one of them, Lord Acton, stayed for four years in his house—a period which probably laid the foundation of that love of historical investigation and of truth for truth's sake for which Lord Acton is exceptionally noticeable among lay Roman Catholics.

Doellinger's connection with England and Englishmen dates as far back as 1837, when he paid a visit to our shores, and made many friends among the old Roman Catholic families. In 1851 he paid England a second visit, and on this occasion formed the acquaintance of many Anglican Churchmen—Dr. Pusey, Mr. Charles Marriott, Dean Church, Professor Mozley, the Bishop of Lincoln. For the third time he came among us in the year 1858; and it was only his seventy-nine winters and his multifarious occupations which prevented his attendance in 1878 at a Conference held at Farnham Castle, under the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester.

His political career began in 1845, when he became the representative of the university in the Bavarian Chamber, where his ecclesiastical views were of so pronounced a character that he was generally regarded as a rising member of the Ultramontane party. In 1848 he was deprived by a court intrigue of his professorship and his seat in the Chamber. But this injury lasted only for a year, and to recompense him for it he was sent as a deputy to the National Parliament at Frankfort, and here he still maintained the cause of Roman Catholicism, but added to it that of freedom.

Meantime his student's life continued. In 1853 appeared "Hippolytus and Callixtus"—a book of great research and ingenuity, but composed upon the principle, not yet shaken off, that Pope Callixtus, as Pope, must be, and must be proved to be, in the right; consequently it does but scant justice to St. Hippolytus. In 1857 was published "Paganism and Judaism;" in 1860, "Christianity and the Church at the period of their Foundation;" in 1861, "The Church and the Churches;" in 1863, "Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages."

Up to this time Dr. Doellinger had been in the main a supporter of the Papal constitution of the Church, though his historical researches had been conducted with such fairness and honesty of purpose as to make it appear likely to lookers-on that Samson would burst the withes that bound him. It was the cause of scientific and historical truth which made him at length go forth with a set face upon the path which put him in plain antagonism to Rome. In 1863, on the occasion of a controversy arising out of Professor Frohschammer's teaching, he summoned a Conference, comprising some of the most learned men of Germany, for the purpose of declaring the rights of science in face of dogmatism. Ultramontanism, however, turned out to be stronger than had been expected, and the Conference decided that science was to be subjected to authority. Doellinger submitted in silence. In silence, too, he submitted to the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and to the promulgation of the Syllabus of 1864; but we may imagine how these last events affected one who loved truth and liberty, and whose knowledge of history made him not only believe, but know, that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was false and the arguments adduced in its favour baseless, and that the anathemas of the Syllabus were directed against all that made the happiness and prosperity of free men and free nations. With the gravity of a man who feels the responsibility attached both to action and inaction he still possessed his soul in patience; but inevitably, and even unconsciously to himself, these antecedents led up to his taking the great position forced upon him by the Council of 1870 and the events which immediately succeeded it.

The Vatican Council was the triumph of the principle and party in the Latin Church to which Doellinger was most energetically opposed—the principle of dogmatism which, unchecked by facts, paid no regard to theological, scientific, or historic truth, and the party of the Jesuits, Ultramontane and anti-Teutonic, which had taken captive and kept in subserviency to itself the feeble, but not for that less obstinate, mind of Pius IX. On the dictation of the Pope and his favourite counsellors, the Council had determined—or rather, it had been determined at the Council, in spite of the protest of all the most learned among the bishops—that the Pope was infallible in all matters of faith and morals whenever he spoke *ex cathedra*, himself being the judge whether or no he did speak *ex cathedra*; that entire submission was due to him, not only in matters of faith and morals, but in all matters appertaining to the Church, whether of doctrine or discipline; and that the immediate episcopal government of the Universal Church was vested in him. The minority at the Council, led by the German and

Hungarian Bishops, and Monseigneurs Darboy and Dupanloup, had left Rome before the final vote was taken; and now men asked themselves, with the intensest interest, What will the dissenting bishops do, and what will Doellinger do? The bishops yielded. Chained as they are to the Papacy by oaths taken at their consecration and by faculties granted by the Pope and capable at any time of resumption, Roman Catholic bishops cannot but yield to the Roman Curia whenever a struggle arises between them, unless they are prepared for bolder action than can be expected from men of average ability and courage. The Archbishop of Munich, having himself submitted to the decrees which he had in vain resisted, called the theological professors of Munich around him, and proposed to them to give way. "Rome has spoken," he said, "and, whatever our personal belief may be, we must submit. Ought we not," he continued, turning to Doellinger, "to be ready to begin to labour afresh in the cause of the Holy Church?" "Yes," replied Doellinger, promptly, "yes, *for the Old Church.*" "There is but one Church," said the Archbishop, "which is neither new nor old." "But people have made a new one," replied Doellinger, drily. In these words of Doellinger's is found the first indication of the title, "Old Catholic."

The Vatican decree was passed in July, 1870. In the following month Doellinger and thirteen men of like mind met at Nuremberg, and there published what Reinkens afterwards described as "the first declaration against the Vatican treason." The vengeance of the bishops who had themselves yielded fell on those who would not yield. Reinkens was suspended by Bishop Förster; Tangemann by the Archbishop of Cologne; and as the ice appeared to bear, in the spring of 1871, after six months' hesitation, the Archbishop of Munich demanded the submission of Doellinger and Friedrich. The two professors did not act hastily; they demanded a fortnight's extension of time for consideration. At the end of that time Friedrich refused submission; and the hopes of the Ultramontanes ran high when Doellinger demanded a second fortnight before delivering his answer. When the answer came they were, therefore, the more infuriated. Nothing could be more uncompromising. Instead of yielding, he published his "*Erklärung an den Erzbischof von München-Freising*" (March 28, 1871), containing a deliberate defence of his refusal to yield, and undertaking to prove before the assembled Episcopate of Germany (1) that the texts in the Bible relied upon for sustaining the infallibility of the Pope were interpreted in a contrary sense by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, which he and the bishops were bound by oath to follow; (2) that the infallibility of the Pope was contrary to the tradition of the Church and the testimony of history for the first thousand years after Christ; (3) that the minds of the bishops of the Latin countries—Spain, Italy, South America, France—who formed the immense majority at the Council, had been corrupted and misled by the manuals used in religious seminaries, such as S. Alfonso de' Liguori's "*Moral Theology*," Perrone's "*Theology*," and other like books; (4) that the resolutions of the Vatican Council were in glaring contradiction to the decrees of two General Councils in the fifteenth century, which were confirmed by Popes; (5) that the new decrees were incompatible with the constitutions of the States of Europe, and especially that of Bavaria. In case he did not prove his points, he promised to revoke all that he had written on the subject. His challenge ends with the following personal declaration:—

"As a Christian, as a theologian, as an historian, as a citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine: for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel and with the plain words of Christ and of the Apostles; it purposes just that establishment of the kingdom of this world which Christ rejected; it claims that rule over all communions which Peter forbids to all and



to himself. Not as a theologian can I receive it, for the whole true tradition of the Church is in irreconcilable opposition to it. Not as an historian can I accept it, for as such, I know that the persistent endeavour to realise this theory of a kingdom of the world has cost Europe rivers of blood, has confounded and degraded whole countries, has shaken the beautiful organic architecture of the elder Church, and has begotten, fed, and sustained the worst abuses of the Church. Finally, as a citizen I must put it away from me, because by the claims on the submission of States and monarchs and of the whole political order under the Papal power, and by the exceptional position which it claims for the clergy, it lays the foundation of endless ruinous dispute between Church and State, between clergy and laity."

It need hardly be said that the Archbishop declined the great theologian's challenge, curtly informing him, at the same time, that adherence to the opinions which he had put forth would convict him of heresy. The eyes of Germany and of Europe were more and more fixed on the struggle. The professors of the University of Munich sent their leader an address of sympathy, in which all but three assured him of their support; a like address was presented from the Roman University, the Town Council of Vienna, and other places. In April the Archbishop struck his final blow, and excommunicated Doellinger and Friedrich. Doellinger quietly desisted from the exercise of his priestly functions. But the Bavarian spirit was by this time roused. Anti-Vatican meetings, addresses, and petitions followed each other at Munich, and the refusal of the last rites of the Church to Dr. Zenger, on the ground of his having signed the address of sympathy to Dr. Doellinger, led to an excited demonstration of feeling against the Archbishop's party. The University of Munich elected Doellinger as its Rector. The University of Oxford paid him the compliment of creating him, in his absence, a Doctor of Civil Law. The sympathy of the Church of England was shown him by visits paid to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Argyll and several English clergymen, one of whom wrote at the beginning of June:—"There is a simplicity of manner and a humility about him which are very attractive in so great a man. At the same time, there is a firmness, a decision, and a courage which command respect, and a gentle cheerfulness in the midst of distress which is very winning and re-assuring. I believe him to be a genuine Christian who will never cease to love his Lord, and a firm Churchman who is resolved to maintain the deposit of the Faith as it was handed down to him, and to resist to the utmost the last Papal innovation, which corrupts and potentially annihilates it. It is true that the deposit, as received by him, is itself not altogether pure; but as the principle on which the battle against Infallibility must be fought is that of appeal to the Holy Scripture and to the doctrines and usages of the Primitive Church, it is likely that all dogmas and practices which will not bear the application of that test will be gradually given up. I saw no signs of any likelihood of a cowardly compromise with the Pope. As we parted, and I prayed God to bless the great work in which he was engaged, he thanked me warmly, and said, with a bright smile, 'We are walking in parallel lines, if not in the same path.'"

Six months after the issue of Dr. Doellinger's Declaration to the Archbishop, the first Old Catholic Congress assembled. It was held at Munich, on September 22, 23, 24, under the presidency of Professor von Schulte, and consisted of 500 delegates. Doellinger was upon the committee, and on his first appearance the whole meeting rose to do him honour, and

\* "Letter to the Bishop of Winchester from the Secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society."—*Report*, 1871.



again at the close of the Congress it paid him the same tribute of respect. This was the first of those Old Catholic Congresses which have since been held annually.

At the end of 1871 Doellinger made his inaugural address as Rector of the University of Munich, and in the next spring he delivered a course of lectures, in which he sketched the history of the English and German Reformation with a fairness never found in a Roman Catholic controversialist, and invited all Christians to a common meeting-ground in the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, the Primitive Œcumenical Councils, and the Church of the first centuries.

The next step forward in the Old Catholic movement was a Confirmation tour, in the summer of 1872, by the Archbishop of Utrecht, who was welcomed, on his arrival at Munich, by Doellinger and others, at whose request and on whose behalf he "confirmed the Churches." In September was held the Congress at Cologne, which was attended by the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Maryland. At this Congress a committee on the re-union of Christians was appointed, consisting of Dr. von Doellinger, President; Professor Friedrich, Secretary; Professors Reinkens, von Schulte, Michelis, Rensch, Langen, Lutterbeck, Michaud, and Herr Rottels. Reinkens, in proposing the appointment of this committee, declared that Doellinger and himself were agreed in the opinion "that a union of confessions may be attained on the basis of Holy Scripture and of the Œcumenical confessions of the early Church, expounded in accordance with the doctrine of the undivided Church of the first centuries."

From this time forward Dr. Doellinger appears to have turned his attention primarily to the work of marshalling the rest of Christendom against Vaticanism, leaving the task of the organisation of the German congregations and synods—an uncongenial work to so profound and severe a student—to others more qualified to deal with details. Accordingly, he took no leading part in the election and consecration of Bishop Reinkens, nor in the Congress of Constance, held in 1873. But in December of the same year committees of three Munich professors and three Bonn professors were constituted, to enter into communication respectively with English and Russian Churchmen. The Munich committee consisted of Drs. Doellinger, Friedrich, and Messmer, and to them a series of letters was addressed by the Rev. F. Meyrick, in behalf of an English committee, consisting of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, Professor Mayor, and himself, dealing with the following questions:—(1) Schism; (2) The devotional spirit of the Church of England; (3) Her rule of Faith; (4) Her conception of the Church's constitution; (5) Her dogmatical teaching; (6) Her reformation; (7) The specific differences between her teaching and that of the Roman Church; (8) Her present sympathies; (9) Her teaching on the points under discussion between the Bonn Committee and Russian Churchmen. These communications led to the maturing in Dr. Doellinger's mind of the scheme of the re-union Conferences at Bonn, where these and kindred subjects might be discussed *vivâ voce* by Old Catholics, Orientals, and English Churchmen.

"Those who are called Old Catholics," he wrote (July 1, 1874), "cannot and will not regulate themselves in questions of peace and unity by the decrees of Trent. If they did, an experiment like that of the projected meeting would be hopeless indeed. I firmly believe that we who claim to be true Catholics and professors of genuine unadulterated Christianity are obliged in conscience to make great concessions, and to introduce gradually considerable modifications wherever the departure of the embryo Vatican Church, as you call it, from the ancient Church and its principles is evident. You have pointed out with perfect justice some of these

indispensable corrections, and I trust that by personal discussion we may come to an agreement, or at least mutual toleration, respecting several other difficult questions.”\*

On September 14, 1874, the Conference of Bonn met. It was called by a circular signed by Doellinger, in which its object was declared to be “the re-establishment of intercommunion between the Churches on the basis of *Unitas in necessariis*, without interference with those particular tenets of individual Churches which do not affect the essentials of the ancient Church confession.” Dr. Doellinger, of course, presided over it. The following description of him was given by the correspondent of the *Times*:—“The calm intelligence with which he grasped the meaning of the English speakers, as well as of the other foreigners through their broken German, excited the admiration of every one. When the noble, benignant-looking old man stood listening to the long, hesitating objections of many present with admirable patience and temper, he perfectly realised what I imagine to have been the appearance of those who, in the old times of the Church, were ready to suffer death and persecution in defence of what they believed to be the truth.”

The Conference was surprisingly successful, an agreement being come to between the Old Catholics, Orientals, and Anglicans there present on the canon of Scripture, the superior authority of the original text of Scripture to the Vulgate, the liberty and duty of reading Scripture, the use of the vulgar tongue in public prayers, justification, merit, works of supererogation, the number of the Sacraments, tradition, the Immaculate Conception, confession, indulgences, prayers for the dead, the Eucharist. An address of congratulation to Dr. Doellinger on the results of the meeting, having been adopted by the Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, was signed, without solicitation, by 500 English clergymen. At the conclusion of the Conference a committee had been appointed for the consideration of certain points which had been left undecided, consisting of Dr. Doellinger and a representative of Russia, Greece, England, and America.† This committee continued to correspond during the year, and so prepared the way for the Conference of the following year.‡ The invitation to the second Conference was issued in July, 1875, by Dr. Doellinger, the object of it being declared to be: first, to effect a renewal of the common confession of the great Christian doctrines which constituted the faith of the original undivided Churches as laid down in their creeds; and next, on the ground of this common confession, to re-establish an intercommunion and confederation of Churches, each of which would recognise the other as a true Church without proceeding to an absolute amalgamation, or destroying peculiarities of doctrine, constitution, and ritual. The Conference was held on August 12—16, and during these five days the extraordinary and varied powers of the great German theologian were even more conspicuous than upon the occasion of the previous Conference. With a courage and confidence of success which was perhaps shared by no other members of the Conference, Dr. Doellinger determined to find a formula that should express the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit to which both the East and West might yield adherence. As this doctrine had been the chief subject of dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches for the last thousand years, and hitherto every effort to come to an understanding had been in vain, the attempt appeared hopeless; but Doellinger succeeded. At first, indeed,

\* Letter in *Correspondence of the Anglo-Continental Society*, Part I. (Rivingtons, 1874.)

† The other members of it were Kiréef, Rhossis, Meyrick, Nevin.

‡ See “*Correspondence between the Secretaries of the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment and the Anglo-Continental Society.*” (Rivingtons, 1875.)

nothing but dissension appeared, on which it was proposed and carried to relegate the question to a committee, consisting of five members of the Eastern Church, three Old Catholics, and three Anglicans.\* We are told by a member of this committee that "nothing could exceed the gravity, the earnestness, the vivacity, the good temper, with which each point was contested by the representatives of the East and West."† After many schemes had been proposed and abandoned, unanimous agreement was at length come to on seven propositions, extracted by Dr. Doellinger from the writings of St. John of Damascus. These propositions were afterwards unanimously accepted by the Conference, and their orthodoxy has been admitted by a committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, as well as by the authorities of the Old Catholic and Russo-Greek Churches. As they do not shrink from grappling fairly with the whole question, we may say that Doellinger has solved a difficulty which the Councils of Lyons and Florence and a thousand years of controversy had been unable to overcome.

The other questions brought before the Conference by Dr. Doellinger were the validity of Holy Orders in the English Church, Purgatory, Infallibility, and the Papacy. On the first of these Dr. Doellinger made two addresses to the Orientals, in which he unhesitatingly defended the Anglican position, maintaining that there was less doubt of the validity of Orders in the Church of England than in many parts of the Roman Communion. On the second he gave a concise history of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, showing that it originated in the seventh century, and was formulated by the Schoolmen in the thirteenth century, while the theory of Indulgences was added to it in the fourteenth century. For himself and the Old Catholics, he declared that he "washed his hands clean" of any such doctrine. On the subject of Infallibility he showed how the necessity of accepting it, together with the absolute and immediate supremacy of the Pope over all baptised persons, reduced the whole of the Eastern Church, and such Gallican and moderate Churchmen as Bossuet and Dupin were, and he himself had been, to the state of heretics in the eyes of Rome. But the most surprising effort of the veteran controversialist and historian was his final speech. For four days he had stood almost continuously in front of the assembled body of divines, taking up and replying to every speech as soon as it was made in German or in English, and sometimes addressing the Conference continuously for hours; in the committee he had proposed, refuted, argued, receiving on his shield weapons from all sides, and returning them with irresistible force, allowing himself no break or interval except such as was sufficient for a plunge each day in the Rhine. And at the end of these four days he stood up, as if he had been a man of thirty-eight instead of seventy-six, and delivered a speech of five hours' length on the disastrous effects that had been wrought on Western Christendom by the Papacy, passing in review, one after the other, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, South America, Austria, and handling the affairs of each country with a fulness and exactness which would have been remarkable if he had confined himself to the history of a single nation; and throughout the five hours he riveted by his voice and action the attention of every one present, and retained their interest hour after hour, though addressing them in a language which to many was perfectly unknown, and to most was so unfamiliar, that his meaning was only doubtfully

\* Archbishop Lyeurgus, Archimandrites Anastasiades and Bryennius, Professor Ossinin, Archpriest Janyscheff, Dr. von Doellinger, Bishop Reinkens, Professor Langen, Canon Liddon, Probandary Meyrick, Dr. Nevin.

† *Two Papers on the Old Catholic Movement and the Bonn Conference*, read at the Plymouth Church Congress, 1877, p. 13. (Wells Gardner.)

guessed at. The Bishop of Meath, recalling the scene, spoke at the Plymouth Church Congress with enthusiasm of "that old man eloquent," with keen glance and playful smile and busy brain, still all aglow with the quenchless fire of youth."

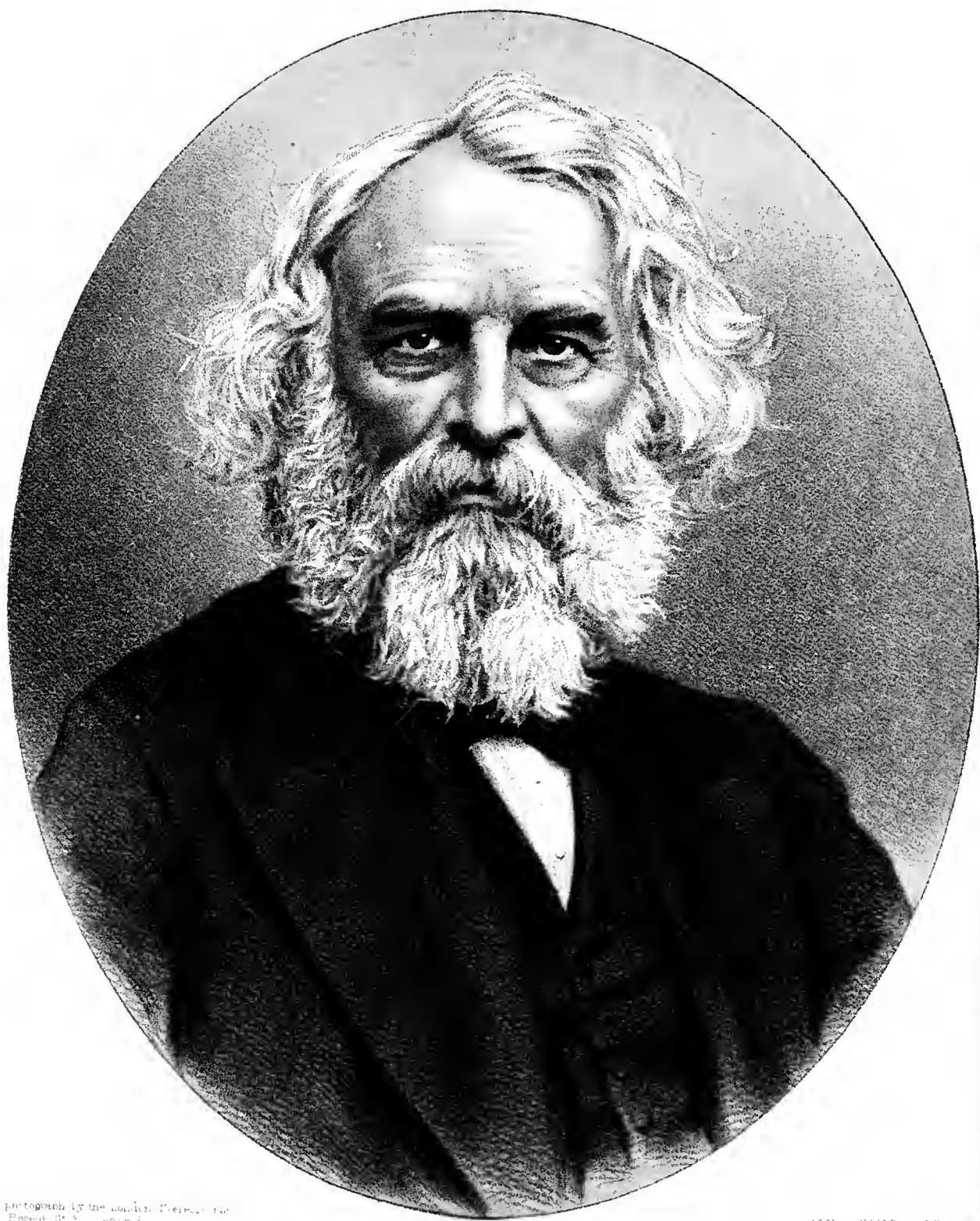
Since the second Conference of Bonn, in 1875, Dr. Doellinger has been less conspicuously before the world. He has not hitherto summoned a third Conference. It is understood that he felt discouraged from doing so on seeing his efforts for the peace of the Church thwarted by the unexpected opposition of Dr. Pusey in England, and by the intolerance of some of the adherents of the Oriental Church. Any fear respecting English feeling, however, was soon removed, for a committee of the House of Convocation, after a careful and minute examination of the proposals made at Bonn, gave them their entire approval, and no fewer than 38 bishops, 3,800 priests and deacons, and 4,170 lay communicants of the Church of England (in all 8,008) signed an address of thanks and congratulation to him, on the invitation of Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P. But the storm of the Russian and Turkish war fell upon Europe, and with it all hope of a Conference between Russian and English Churchmen perished; nor has the political atmosphere yet sufficiently cleared for the hope to revive.

The accession of a new Pope and the consequent change of policy in the Roman Curia—a change not affecting the ends aimed at, but only the means employed towards those ends—naturally raised hopes in the minds of the Papal party of recovering Doellinger to their side. Leo XIII. sent an Austrian prelate to him with a message bidding him return, as there was now a different Pope. "Yes," said Doellinger, "but the same Papacy." A new Archbishop of Munich, once Doellinger's pupil, also made advances to him, but received for answer that he could not recognise as true what he believed to be a falsehood. In 1879, on the occasion of Dr. Newman's proceeding to Italy to receive his cardinal's hat, the Vaticanist papers persistently maintained once more that the great German reformer was on the point of submission to the Papacy. Dr. Doellinger wrote at last to Dr. Nevin, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Rome, contradicting these false reports.

"I have neither written nor done anything which could have given occasion to such a rumour," he writes. "The circumstances which are mentioned in some papers are gratuitous inventions; and only three weeks ago I published a lecture (*Allgem. Zeitung*, 6th, 7th, 8th April, 1879) in which I state in so many words that nobody possessing a scientific culture of mind can ever accept the decrees of the Vatican Council. Having devoted my time during the last nine years principally to the renewed study of all the questions connected with the history of the Popes and the Councils, and, I may say, gone again over the whole ground of ecclesiastical history, the result is that the proofs of the falsehood of the Vatican decrees amount to demonstration. When I am told that I must swear to the truth of those doctrines, my feeling is just as if I were asked to swear that two and two make five, and not four."

This decisive letter was written on May 4, 1879, from Munich. There the learned professor now, as formerly, resides, still pursuing his favourite study of ecclesiastical history, preparing his voluminous notes for publication, and watching with keen eyes the fortunes of the Church in all parts of the globe.





by a photograph by the London. Friends the  
Robert G. S. Longfellow

1875. LITTON & CO. LITHO.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

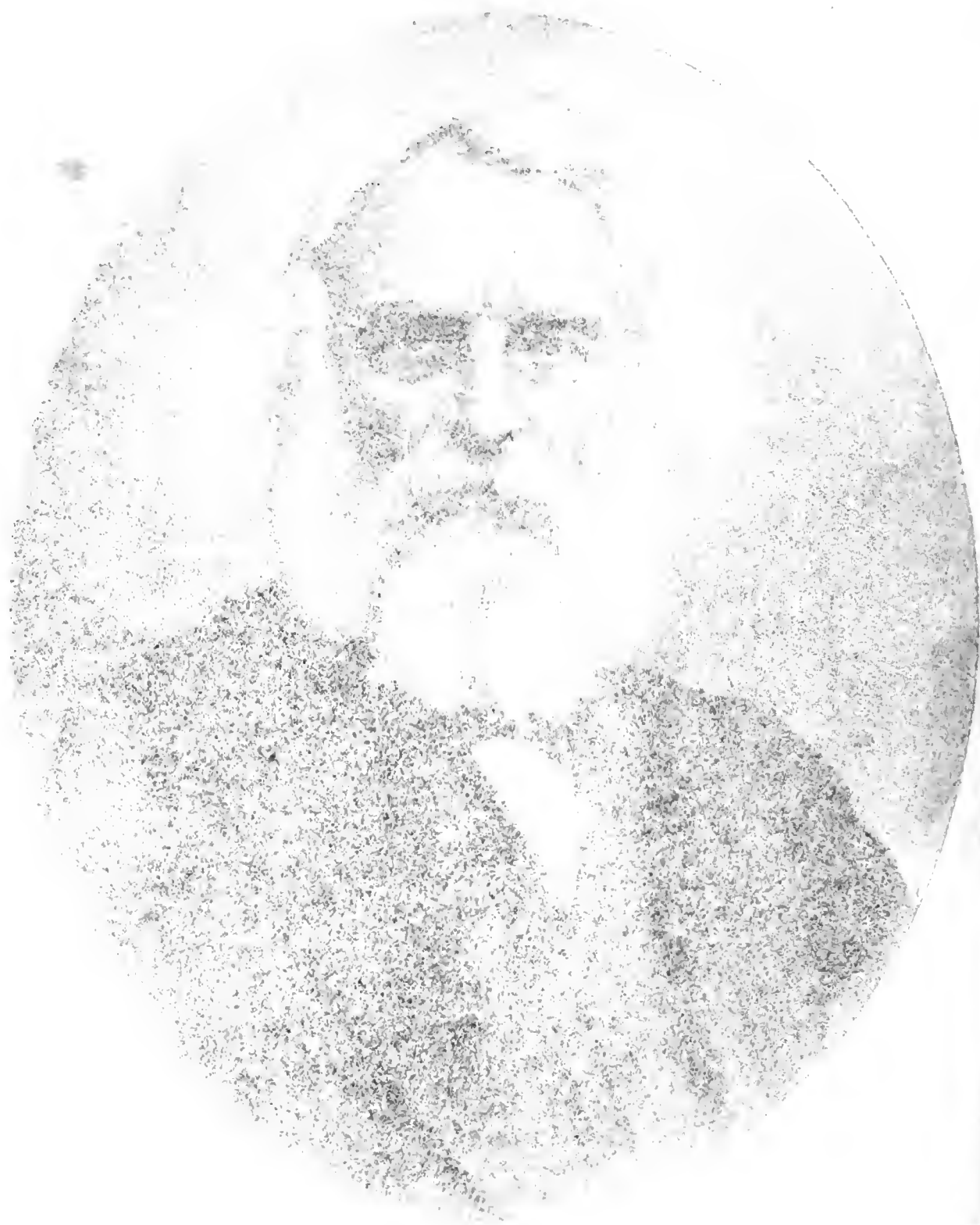
## HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

**H**ENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, the most popular of our poets, excepting even Mr. Fenimore, was born at Portland, Maine, in 1807, "in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea." He was a son of Stephen Longfellow, and a descendant of William Longfellow, of Newbury, Mass. His father, a well-known gentleman, was a native of Hampshire, England. He was born in the year 1807, and emigrated to Newbury, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-two, he married Anne Seaborn. He ended his career by being accidentally drowned in an estuary of the St. Lawrence, in 1860. The poet is descended on the mother's side from John Allen, who went over to America in the *Mayflower*, and was a first cousin of the poet at Plymouth.

Entering Harvard College at the age of fourteen, Mr. Longfellow graduated in 1825, and subsequently devoted himself for a short time to the study of the law. When only twenty years of age he received the appointment of Professor of Modern Languages. In his *Life*—an appointment that is probably unprecedented in the annals of literature, but for which the young student appears to have been well and amply qualified. In 1826 he proceeded to Europe, and spent three years and a half in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. The results of this tour are apparent in his early works, the traveller having become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of European literatures. In 1830 Mr. Longfellow returned to his native country, and two years afterwards married. In 1835 he succeeded Mr. George Ticknor as Professor of *Belles Lettres* at Harvard College, and the same year he paid a second visit to Europe. Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Germany, the Tyrol and Switzerland were all visited in succession. During his stay at Rotterdam, Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his wife, and this sorrow visited him in the ancient city with an unliving interest in his memory. Some years later he visited Europe for a third time, and in 1840 he again married. In 1845 he retired from his professorship at Harvard College—which he had held for twenty years—in order to devote himself exclusively to literary pursuits. For upwards of forty years he has occupied the Craigie House, Cambridge, the old quarters of General Washington after the battle of Bunker's Hill. The history of this house (which has been the residence of many distinguished Americans) is agreeably narrated in the "Home of American Authors," by Mr. G. W. Curtis.

The more detailed notice of the works of this author would occupy a considerable space. Over a half of his life we find him contributing to the *North American Review*, and two of his papers in that excellent periodical, entitled respectively "An Essay on Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesy," and "Moral and Intellectual Progress in Spain," attracted great attention. But his most popular composition also early engaged his attention, and before the age of eighteen he had produced "The Wreck of the *Hesperus*," "An April Day," and other popular short pieces. And in matters of a more serious nature his poems must be pronounced remarkable as the production of a mere youth. One who can so early





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HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, the most popular of all living poets—not excepting even Mr. Tennyson—was born at Portland, Maine, February 27th, 1807, “in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea.” He was a son of the late Hon. Stephen Longfellow, and a descendant of William Longfellow, of Newbury, Massachusetts. This last-named gentleman was a native of Hampshire, England. He was born in the year 1651, and emigrated to Newbury, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-five, he married Annie Sewall. He ended his career by being accidentally drowned in an estuary of the St. Lawrence, in 1690. The poet is descended on the mother’s side from John Alden, who went over to America in the *Mayflower*, and was the first man that landed at Plymouth.

Entering Bowdoin College at the age of fourteen, Mr. Longfellow graduated in 1825, and subsequently devoted himself for a short time to the study of the law. When only eighteen years of age he received the appointment of Professor of Modern Languages in his *Alma Mater*—an appointment that is probably unprecedented in the annals of literature, but for which the young student appears to have been well and amply qualified. In 1826 he proceeded to Europe, and spent three years and a half in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. The results of this tour are apparent in his early works, the traveller having become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of various European literatures. In 1829 Mr. Longfellow returned to his native country, and two years afterwards married. In 1835 he succeeded Mr. George Ticknor as Professor of *Belles Lettres* in Harvard College, and the same year he paid a second visit to Europe; Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Germany, the Tyrol and Switzerland were all visited in succession. During his stay at Rotterdam, Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his wife, and this event invested “the ancient city with an undying interest in his memory.” Some years later he visited Europe for a third time, and in 1843 he again married. In 1854 he retired from his professorship in Harvard College—which he had held for twenty years—in order to devote himself exclusively to literary pursuits. For upwards of forty years he has occupied the Craigie House, Cambridge, the headquarters of General Washington after the battle of Bunker’s Hill. The history of Craigie House (which has been the residence of many distinguished Americans) is agreeably narrated in the “Homes of American Authors,” by Mr. G. W. Curtis.

The mere mention of the works of this author would occupy a considerable space. Very early in life we find him a contributor to the *North American Review*, and two of his papers in that well-known periodical, entitled respectively “An Essay on Sir Philip Sidney’s Defence of Poesy,” and the “Moral and Devotional Poetry of Spain,” attracted great attention. But original poetical composition also early engaged his attention, and before the age of eighteen he had written “Woods in Winter,” “An April Day,” and other popular short pieces. Alike in matter and style, these poems must be pronounced remarkable, as the production of a mere youth. One who was no mean

poet himself, wrote of Longfellow in 1840: "The poetry of Mr. Longfellow is marked by a very vivid imagination; great susceptibility to the impressions of natural scenery, and a ready perception of the analogies between natural objects and the feelings of the human heart. But, besides this, he possesses an extraordinary command over the powers of language, and turns it into any form at will—

‘Untwisting all the chains that tie  
The hidden soul of harmony.’”

Mr. Longfellow's "Outre Mer: a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea," the first of his prose works, appeared in 1835, and was followed two years later by "Hyperion, a Romance." So popular was the latter work that fifteen thousand copies of it were sold in twenty years. An English critic, the late George Gilfillan, interpreted the general feeling in regard to this work when he described its charm as lying "partly in the 'excelsior' progress of the hero's mind, partly in the sketches of the great German authors, and principally in the sparkling imagery, and waving billowy language of the book. Longfellow in this work is Jean Paul Richter, without his grotesque extravagancies, or riotous humour, or turbulent force." It was undoubtedly a most successful effort in romantic fiction. "The Voices of the Night," a series of poems containing some of the most pathetic utterances of the poet, were published in a collected form in 1839. Who has not been moved by the solemnity which pervades the "Hymn to the Night," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "The Light of Stars," "Footsteps of Angels," and "The Midnight Mass for the Dying Year?" In all these poems the author directly appealed to the human heart, and awoke in it responsive chords. The sale of this and other works appears almost fabulous. In 1857, that is, only eighteen years after the first publication of the "Voices of the Night," forty-three thousand copies had been disposed of, and it is not too much to assume that since that time the number of copies has been doubled.

In 1841 Mr. Longfellow published his "Ballads and other Poems," a collection including those favourite lyrics "The Village Blacksmith," "The Skeleton in Armour," and "The Wreck of the Hesperus." Edgar Allan Poe, with a personality to be regretted as coming from a brother poet, attacked this volume on the ground that the writer regarded the inculcation of a moral as essential. The highest morality is taught by the greatest poets, and it is somewhat extraordinary to find this objected to. To the *manner* of teaching morality objection may frequently fairly be taken, but this is another matter. The same critic adversely reviewed the "Poems on Slavery" and "The Spanish Student," alleging that "a man of genius has no business with these hybrid and paradoxical compositions." Poe, however, stood alone; Mr. Whipple representing the popular sentiment when he observed that in "The Spanish Student," Mr. Longfellow most strikingly manifested the affluence of his imagination in images of grace, grandeur, and beauty. "None of his other pieces so well illustrate all his poetical qualities—his imagination, his fancy, his sentiment, and his manner. It seems to comprehend the whole extent of his 'genius.'" In 1846 appeared "The Belfry of Bruges, and other Poems," and in 1847, "Evangeline: a Tale of Acadie." This picture of life in primitive Nova Scotia is charged with tenderness, and distinguished for the intensity of its local colouring. The historical incidents upon which this beautiful legendary poem are founded are now matter of almost universal knowledge. The inhabitants of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, having been suspected of giving assistance to the French (their ancestors) by the British Government, were exiled from their homes under circumstances of great hardship, and distributed over other English colonies. Out of the sufferings of some of these expatriated people the poet has woven a touching narrative, interspersed with passages of exquisite description of natural scenery. The story of Gabriel and Evangeline, with its tragic ending, is told with genuine pathos, and the poem remains

one of the best monuments of its author's genius. A distinguished English painter, Mr. T. Faed, R.A., gave an admirable representation of *Evangeline*, and Mr. Longfellow in acknowledging the excellence of the picture, wrote:—"I am delighted with the work, both in conception and execution, and have written to Mr. Faed to express my acknowledgment for this mark of his consideration, and my appreciation of the very great beauty and feeling of his illustration."

After the publication of "*Kavanagh*," a story of New England life, Mr. Longfellow devoted a considerable portion of his learned leisure to the compilation of "*The Poets and Poetry of Europe*," embracing biographical notices and translations from the earliest period to the present time. No fewer than three hundred and sixty authors are laid under contribution in this work, and Mr. Longfellow—whose linguistic powers are well known—has himself translated poems from the Anglo-Saxon, Swedish, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. In 1855 was published "*The Song of Hiawatha*," a poem which has enjoyed an almost unprecedented run of popularity. It is not unworthy of the designation which has been claimed for it of an Indian Edda. In indicating its origin, the author states that it is founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michaboa, Chiabo, Manabozo, Tarenyawagan, and Hiawatha. Into the old tradition were woven other curious Indian legends. The scene of the poem is among the Ojibways, on the southern shore of Lake Superior in the region between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Gable. Within a month after the publication of this poem ten thousand copies had been sold, and in two years and a half the number had risen to fifty thousand—figures to which we can offer no parallel in the sale of works by our English poets. "*Hiawatha*" exhibits much picturesque grandeur in its descriptions of river and mountain scenery. A charge was made against the writer that in its production he had borrowed "the form, spirit, and many of the most striking incidents of *Kalevala*"—the great national epic of the Finns—but the groundlessness of this allegation was conclusively proved. The English and American critical journals vied with each other in commending the striking poetic merits of this production, and by many persons on both sides of the Atlantic it was regarded as the poet's most original work. Not long after its issue, the poem could be readily procured in London, Paris, Rome, Vienna, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Brussels, Basle, Turin, Trieste, Venice, and Verona. Mr. Bright, in a speech at Manchester, after making some references to Mr. Tennyson's war lyrics, said: "I have had the opportunity lately of reading a poem from another country, written by the American poet Longfellow—a poem which treats of the legends of the Indian tribes—and, while I have turned from the poem of our poet Laureate ('*Maud*'), in which I find him descending to slang of almost the grossest character, I turn with delight to the exquisite poem which has come to us from the other side of the Atlantic." Another eminent man, superior as a critic to Mr. Bright, viz., Cardinal Wiseman, also confessed his high admiration for this poem.

Another narrative poem by Mr. Longfellow which acquired great popularity, was "*The Courtship of Miles Standish*," published in 1858. Written in the hexameter measure, it is concerned, like others of its predecessors, with American history, in the "long-ago." Miles Standish is a fine, stalwart soldier, but while he gives the title to the work, the main interest centres in the history of the Puritan maiden, Priscilla. Though the strong warrior is not afraid of the perils of the field, he quails before a personal courtship of the modest and beautiful Priscilla.

He accordingly woos by proxy, but with disastrous results. Sending as his representative, John Alden, a handsome, attractive youth, the latter wins the maiden's heart ere he is aware of the fact, but Priscilla archly reveals the state of her own feelings by the question, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" He improves his opportunities accordingly, and Standish afterwards puts the best and most graceful face upon the affair that he can. In all probability this story would have been more popular still but for its setting. Both this and other works of the poet have been admirably illustrated by English artists. In 1864 Mr. Longfellow again appeared as an author with "The Tales of a Wayside Inn," a volume which "connects the nature of the New World with the pathetic romances and stirring Northern legends of the Old." Some of these tales are exceedingly quaint, and all are tinged with a spirit at once elevated and practical. The "New England Tragedies," issued in 1868, consist of two dramas, entitled "John Endicott," a tale of the persecution of the Quakers, 1665; and "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms," a tale of the witchcraft times, 1692. These tragedies excellently reflect the manners and spirit of the old Puritan days. They were succeeded in 1870 by "The Divine Tragedy," a volume consisting of the leading passages of the life of Christ, pictured as a dramatic poem—in effect, a poetic version of the chief events of the Gospel, arranged in the order of time. Not long afterwards came "Christus: a Mystery." Three dramatic poems, hitherto detached, were now grouped into a unity of poetic effort, in the following order—Part I. "The Divine Tragedy;" Part II. "The Golden Legend;" Part III. "New England Tragedies." Prologues and interludes furnished the connecting links between these poems, and the author added a concluding section, wherein he epitomised the teachings of the whole. Mr. Bayard Taylor, in reviewing this volume, observed that "the publication of the 'Divine Tragedy' marks the most important period of the life of its illustrious author, and thus becomes an event of special significance in American literature. The theme, so old and so often attempted, is in itself almost a challenge. As no sect can specially claim, so none can reject, the Christ he has transferred from the Gospels. What Mr. Longfellow has *not* done in the work is even a more striking evidence of his genius than what he has done."

In 1872, "Three Books of Song" appeared. The first part of this work consisted of a second series of the "Tales of a Wayside Inn." Again the legends are distinguished for their high moral purpose. The second book is the drama of "Judas Maccabæus," which deals with the struggle of the Jews for the religious independence of their nation. Part third consists of translations from the Persian, French, German, and Italian. "The Hanging of the Crane" was published in 1874, succeeding a volume of miscellaneous poems entitled "Aftermath;" the "Masque of Pandora" was published in 1875, also a graceful poem, "Morituri Salutamus," written for the fiftieth anniversary of the class of 1825 in Bowdoin College, and forming a touching remembrance of departed days; and "Kéramos" appeared in 1878.

We have already referred to the popularity of Mr. Longfellow's works, but it may now be stated that up to the year 1857, the American editions alone reached a sale of three hundred and twenty-five thousand copies. Since that time the sale in the United States, taking a most moderate computation, must have touched at least half a million of copies, and if we include the sale in England, and the Colonies as well, we should have, no doubt, a total number of upwards of one million copies of the works of this one poet in circulation. Amongst modern writers, only Dickens, in fiction, can equal the favour with which he is regarded.

Mr. Longfellow is the Psalmist amongst modern poets, and the union of so much music with sweetness, strength, and simplicity, has rarely been witnessed. He is the poet of the

poor and the illiterate as well as of the learned and the wealthy. His language is of the clearest, and there is probably not one passage in his works which cannot be readily understood by the most casual reader, even if his allusions cannot always be traced. The reason why he has such a hold upon mankind must be sought for chiefly in his earnestness, and in his faith in man and the Divine. His poetry is soothing and elevating; and no one can lay down his books without feeling that the writer has done something towards alleviating the burden of humanity. As one who best understood him remarked:—"The secret of his popularity as a poet is probably that of all similar popularity—viz., the fact that his poetry expresses a universal sentiment in the simplest and most melodious manner. Each of his most noted poems is the issue of a feeling common to every mind in moods into which every mind is liable to fall. Thus, 'A Psalm of Life,' 'Footsteps of Angels,' 'To the River Charles,' 'Excelsior,' 'The Bridge,' 'The Gleam of Sunshine,' 'The Day is Done,' 'The Old Clock on the Stairs,' 'The Arrow and the Song,' 'The Fire of Driftwood,' 'Twilight,' 'The Open Window,' are all most adequate and inexpressibly delicate renderings of quite universal emotions. There is a humanity in them which is irresistible in the fit measures to which they are wedded. If some elegiac poets have strung rosaries of tears, there is a weakness of woe in their verses which repels; but the quiet, pensive thought—the twilight of the mind, in which the little facts of life are saddened in their relation to the eternal laws, time and change—this is the meditation and mourning of every manly heart, and this is the alluring and permanent charm of Longfellow's poetry." Into every part of the habitable globe Longfellow's lyrics have penetrated. The spirit which permeates them all is excellent and pure, and calculated to lift humanity out of its misery and degradation. They bear the message of hope for the whole human race.

That singular peculiarity of his mind by which he is able to assimilate alike the lessons of the past and the present has been well defined by a living critic. "It is at once his aid and his merit," says this writer, "that he can reproduce the choice pictures of the past and of other minds with new accessories of his own, so that the quaint old poets of Germany, the singers of the past centuries, the poetical vision and earnest teachings of Goethe, and the everyday humours of Jean Paul, as it were, come to live among us in American homes and landscape. This interpretation in its highest form is one of the rarest benefits which the scholar can bestow upon his country. The genius of Longfellow has given us an American idyl, based on a touching episode of ante-revolutionary history, parallel with the 'Hermann and Dorothea' of Goethe; in the exquisite story of 'Evangeline' has shown us how Richter might have surveyed the higher and inferior conditions—the schoolmaster, the clergyman, the lovers, and the rustics of a New England village in his tale of 'Kavanagh'; has reproduced the simple elegance of the lighter Spanish drama in his play of 'The Students'; and in his 'Golden Legend' has carried us, in his ingenious verse, to the heart of the Middle Ages, showing us the most poetic aspects of the lives of scholars, churchmen, and villagers; how they sang, travelled, practised logic, medicine, and divinity, and with what miracle-plays, jest, and grim literature they were entertained. His originality and peculiar merit consist in these felicitous transformations. If he were simply a scholar, he would be but an annalist, or an annotator, but being a poet of taste and imagination, with an ardent sympathy for all good and refined traits in the world, and for all forms of this objective life of others, his writings being the very emanations of a kind, generous nature, he has succeeded in reaching the heart of the public. All men relish art and literature when they are free from pedantry. We are all pleased with pictures, and like to be charmed with thinking nobly and acting well by the delights of fancy." This



criticism, nevertheless, admirable and searching as it is, still leaves something to be desired in estimating Longfellow's influence. Many poets have shown similar qualities to those enumerated, but they have failed to acquire a permanent hold upon men. We must go deeper, and come to the moral force, amongst other qualities, so conspicuous in Longfellow. We see him take the deeper, softer emotions of the human heart, and play upon them at will. In such poems as "Resignation" he touches the pathetic chord, and few have shown an equal mastery over the "music of sorrow." He teaches us that the lessons of death are full of a hidden meaning instinct with hope, and demonstrates that it is the office of the poet to bring these lessons forth, and set them strongly in the light on behalf of his fellows. He is, moreover, the foe of war, as his noble verses on the "Arsenal at Springfield" testify. He anticipates the time when the world shall be lapped in peace, and when

"Down the dark future, through long generations,  
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease,  
And, like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,  
I hear once more the voice of Christ say 'Peace!'

"Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals  
The blast of war's great organ shakes the skies;  
But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,  
The haly melodies of love arise."

He is also a patriot, as witness the lyric, "The Building of the Ship." But not confining himself to an affectionate regard for his own country, his sympathies are cosmopolitan; and his Christianity and his natural sentiments alike revolt from the practice of slavery. Longfellow laboured energetically with Channing and others to sweep away the nefarious traffic in human lives. His poems upon slavery are full of moral indignation, and gleam with the electric current of sympathy with the oppressed. Perceiving the danger of the traffic to the Commonwealth, he compared the poor, despised slave with Samson, who might one day rise and avenge himself upon his enemies by pulling down the pillars of the State. The champions of human freedom have fortunately lived to see the curse of slavery removed from the States.

Longfellow is successful in three kinds of poetic effort—the descriptive, the dramatic, and the lyrical. Facile in depicting the moods of Nature, he has also considerable power in the delineation of human passion. This will have been gathered from what we have already remarked in mentioning his various works in their chronological order. The dramatic faculty, however, is not so strong in him as the lyrical. A comparison between "The Spanish Student" and such stirring lyrics as "Victor Galbraith" will clearly show this. He is emphatically a poet of the people, and, as one writer has remarked, there is no greater lack in English literature than that of such a poet—"one who shall be to the labouring classes of England what Goethe is to the peasant of Germany. He was a true philosopher who said, 'Let me make the songs of a Nation and I care not who makes its laws.' There is one writer who approaches nearer than any other to this standard; and he has already gained such a hold on our hearts that it is almost unnecessary for me to mention his name. Our hemisphere cannot claim the honour of having brought him forth; but still he belongs to us, for his works have become as household words wherever the English language is spoken. And, whether we are charmed by his imagery, or soothed by his melodious versification, or elevated by the high moral teachings of his pure muse, or follow with sympathising hearts the wanderings of 'Evangeline,' I am sure that



all who hear my voice will join with me in the tribute I desire to pay to the genius of Longfellow." In our admiration for his original poems, we must not omit to mention the many masterly translations which Mr. Longfellow has executed. His first published work was a translation of Don Jorge Manrique's fine ode on the death of his father. His latest is an admirable selection, entitled "Poems of Places." The two volumes devoted to England and Wales take a very wide range, and form as pleasant reading as can well-nigh be conceived. Mr. Longfellow states that this collection has been made partly for the pleasure of making it, and partly for the pleasure he hopes it may give to those who shall read its pages. "It is the voice of the poets expressing their delight in the scenes of nature, and, like the song of the birds, surrounding the earth with music. For myself, I confess that these poems have an indescribable charm, as showing how the affections of men have gone forth to their favourite haunts, and consecrated them for ever." The collection teems with descriptions of the natural beauties of the mother country.

The editions of his works are multiform, and we could not pretend even to enumerate them. They have followed each other in quick succession, both in England and America. An edition is now in course of issue which promises to give a worthy artistic setting to poems enjoying a world-wide celebrity. Many of Mr. Longfellow's works have been translated into continental languages. Mr. J. T. Fields, an intimate friend of the poet, furnishes some interesting details respecting his methods of composition. The famous lyric, "Excelsior," was written late one autumn evening, in 1841, when the word happened to catch his eye upon a torn piece of newspaper. Longfellow's imagination was at once kindled; he seized the first scrap of paper at hand, and immediately penned the stanzas which have since become "familiar in our mouths as household words." The "Psalm of Life" sprang into being one bright summer morning in Cambridge, as the writer sat between two windows at the small table in the corner of his chamber. Several of his poems were composed at one sitting, and in a brief period, his inspiration coming not by single lines but by whole stanzas. That powerful ballad, "The Wreck of the Hesperus," was written during one night after a very violent storm, and the clock was striking three as he finished the last stanza. His writings have not been the productions of protracted labour. It may be mentioned here that a short time ago the "spreading chestnut tree," immortalised in the "Village Blacksmith," was cut down, and that the children of Cambridge subscribed to have an arm-chair made from it, which in due course was presented to Mr. Longfellow. He returned his thanks for the well-timed present in a beautiful and touching poem.

It has sometimes been objected that in the higher range of original thought America is still far behind England. In many respects this is no doubt true, for the intellectual life of a nation can no more be forced than can its social growth. But just as America possesses physical treasures as yet unexplored and unconceived, so also she has slumbering intellectual forces, which must one day give her high rank amongst the nations of the world. Even now she may be said to have removed much of the charge of deficiency and barrenness as regards her poetic genius; for a people is certainly entitled to honour and respect in this regard which has produced such contemporary singers as Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell. We have in these names almost every quality of poetic thought represented, and represented with a very considerable amount of force, strength, and originality.

Some years ago Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his second wife by a very painful death. A muslin dress which she was wearing having accidentally caught fire, the flames could not be extinguished until she had sustained fatal injuries. Universal sympathy was manifested with Mr. Longfellow in his affliction. The poet has a family of three sons and two daughters.

One of his sons, Mr. Ernest Longfellow, who is an artist of repute, has recently made the tour of Europe.

Ten years ago Mr. Longfellow once more visited England, when the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. This was in July, 1869, and a few years later he was elected a member of the Russian Academy of Science. In 1874 he was nominated to the Lord Rectorship of the University of Edinburgh, and although he was defeated by Mr. Disraeli, the large number of votes he received attested his popularity in the Modern Athens. It is stated that Mr. Longfellow, in his personal appearance, frank, graceful manners, fortune, and mode of life, reflects or anticipates the elegance of his writings. "In a home surrounded by every refinement of art and cultivated intercourse, in the midst of his family and friends," he enjoys a retired leisure. He is, however, most accessible to visitors, and numerous anecdotes are recorded of his kindness and hospitality. In religion he is a Unitarian, but he delights in a high liturgical form of worship. As may be gathered from his writings, he is a passionate admirer of art, and of the beautiful in every shape.

*[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]*





photograph by M. Charles Tiotin  
onl' de Strasbourg. Paris.

THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

## THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY

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## THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS.

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WHEN the Treaty of Paris had been concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the great Powers, in March, 1856, Europe was naturally led to expect that both Russia and Turkey had learned a lesson which neither was likely to forget. France had entered upon the Crimean War mainly for the purpose of gaining Napoleon III. an established position in the country whose liberties he had crushed, and a respectable connection with more solid states of Europe. Napoleon attained his object, and his army gained much distinction. Sardinia also gained in respectability by the Crimean War. Turkey gained a new lease of a bad life, and England, as a set-off to the loss of twenty-two thousand soldiers and fifty millions of money, gained an extensive knowledge of Eastern geography. A successful siege, a brilliant charge, and a few hotly-contested battles, manifested once more that courage which has never been denied to the British soldier; and England, after a decent period of mourning for her brave sons, dried her eyes, paid her debts, and proceeded to set her house in order. Turkey, the cause of all this loss and bloodshed, although supported in her attempted reforms by strong and wealthy neighbours—from motives which were anything but disinterested—proved herself utterly incapable of making any progress, except from bad to worse. In this direction she advanced with accuracy and with the rapidity of geometrical progression. Her glaring iniquities in the administration of her own empire would probably have passed without much comment for many years to come; but in an evil moment she managed to combine the massacre of her subjects in Bulgaria with the repudiation of her debt to England. Very shortly after the holders of Turkish bonds had discovered that those bonds were not as valuable as could be desired, energetic correspondents for English newspapers discovered, and doubtless amplified, all the disgusting details of Turkish brutality. The atrocities in Bulgaria led to another invasion of the Turkish dominions by the great Northern Power, and in developing our sketch of the illustrious personage who was appointed leader of the European army of invasion, it is necessary to recapitulate the events which led to the war of 1877—8.

An insurrection in the Turkish tributary states of Herzegovina and Bosnia assumed serious proportions in July, 1875, and led, in the following month, to a Consular Commission, appointed by the great Powers, to inquire into the causes of the disturbance. Turkey was profuse in the admission of her shortcomings and in promises of reform. The revolted provinces were much too familiar with such shortcomings and promises to attach any importance to the latter, and the Governments of Austria, Germany, and Russia, agreed in declaring that the internal disorder of Turkey formed a permanent source of danger to Europe. The deliberations of those Powers led to the preparation of a letter to the Porte—afterwards well known as the Andrassy Note, in which the reforms rendered necessary by the condition of European Turkey were set forth in full. The principal demands made in this document were the establishment of complete religious liberty, the abolition of the system of farming the taxes, the granting of facilities to Christian agriculturists to acquire



land, the application of direct taxes to local purposes, the indirect taxes going, as before, into the imperial exchequer, and the appointment of a mixed commission of Mussulmans and Christians to ensure the execution of these reforms. This Note, to which the assent of the English Government had been given, was presented to the Porte in January, 1876, and in February a Circular Note was issued by the Turkish Government to the Powers, agreeing to all the demands, except that which limited the application of the direct taxes. Such promises of the Porte, unguaranteed by other Powers, failed to satisfy the rebels, who were supported by the accession to their ranks of large bodies of armed men from Servia and Montenegro. At the beginning of May Germany and Russia were taking counsel upon the necessary measures to be enforced for the pacification of the revolted provinces, when news arrived of the murder at Salonika of the French and German consuls. Sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople, telegraphed to the English Government, urging that the British fleet be sent at once to Besika Bay for protection of the Christian inhabitants.

On the 13th of May, Prince Bismarck, Count Andrassy, and Prince Gortschakoff, drew up at Berlin a statement of affairs in Turkey, since known as the Berlin Memorandum. The Governments signing this Memorandum pledged themselves to urge upon the Sultan the immediate necessity of carrying out the reforms embodied in the Andrassy Note. They demanded a suspension of hostilities for two months, and finished by declaring that if the armistice failed to procure peace, more vigorous measures should be taken to prevent the war which seemed impending. Italy and France signed the Memorandum. Lord Derby, on the part of the English Government, declined to become a party to the agreement. The assenting Powers proceeded to present the Memorandum at Constantinople, but before all arrangements for so doing had been concluded, the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, had been dethroned, and this new effort of diplomacy was defeated. Just at this time matters were complicated by the outbreak, in Bulgaria, of those "horrors" with which English readers have supped so full. Lord Derby wrote to Sir Henry Elliott that "the outrages and excesses committed by the Turkish troops in Bulgaria had aroused a universal feeling of indignation in all classes of English society, and that in the extreme case of Russia declaring war against Turkey, Her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere in defence of the Ottoman Empire." Protest followed protest, with no avail. At the beginning of July Servia commenced hostilities against Turkey, but by the end of August was compelled to seek the assistance and mediation of Europe. To the representations made by the great Powers in favour of an armistice, Turkey paid no attention, but proposed conditions of peace which were quite inadmissible. Diplomatic negotiations were continued with little success. Turkey contemptuously rejected all attempts to interfere with her jurisdiction, until the Czar, finding that peace was unattainable by diplomacy, issued a war manifesto on the 24th of April. On the very day upon which this manifesto was issued one Russian army crossed the frontier in Asia, and another force crossed the European frontier into Roumania. Two distinct campaigns, therefore, were being carried on simultaneously. With the army in Asia, under command of the Grand Duke Michael, our story is not connected, and we may dismiss that part of the subject by stating that upon the fall of Kars and Erzeroum the Asiatic campaign had exhausted itself.

From the foregoing statement it may be perceived that Russia offered to her adversary every possible opportunity for an amicable arrangement before resorting to extreme measures. The minds of noisy classes in England had become terrified at the bold attitude of Russia, which, coupled with "British interests," afforded ample ground for terror to people who regarded each Russian as an all-devouring demon. But upon attempting to grasp the *raison d'être*

of the war which has just been finished, many persons, who had previously entertained hostile feelings towards Russia, having carefully studied the development of her history, and having learned to disassociate the country of Peter and of Catherine from that of Alexander II., have been driven to the conclusion that the average Russian is not a demon. In no country are the inhabitants imbued naturally with less of the military spirit; they are prone to lying, thieving, and strong drink; they are superstitious, mysterious, and excitable; they possess most of the vices of a subject race; but the true cold-blooded spirit of the conqueror is rare, and crimes of violence which are the complement of military ardour are rarer still. As frequently happens in connection with the vices we have mentioned, there exists a strong sentiment of family relationship, of clanship, and of patriotism. A distinguished English statesman has remarked of the patriotic sentiment in Russia, that "it is not as in France or England, associated with a consciousness of superiority in arts, arms, or civilisation; or, as in the United States, with the triumph of their political institutions; but, like the patriotism of the ancient Jews, it is blended with a spiritual pride founded on the belief that Russia is the favoured depository of the orthodox religious faith. I have been present at a great public banquet, where the health of the Czar was drunk with enthusiasm, but when the succeeding toast of 'Prosperity to Russia' was given, it was received with reiterated cheering. This attachment to country is not, however, exclusively founded on a religious sentiment. The Russian possesses, in an eminent degree, the organ to which phrenologists have given the name of 'inhabitiveness.' He is passionately wedded to his village home, and Russia has been described as a great village. Nay, more, this people, whom Western Europe regards with terror as a horde of imprisoned barbarians, dissatisfied with their fate, and eager to escape from their rigorous climate and ungrateful soil, to pour the tide of conquest over more favoured and civilised regions, are, beyond any others, proud of their own country; they love its winter as well as summer life, and would not willingly exchange it for any other land. This characteristic of the Russian people is referred to by Custine, who gives us some specimens of letters, written by Russian servants, travelling with their masters in Western Europe, to their friends at home, in which they complain of the humidity of the winter season, and long for the day when they shall inhale again the invigorating air of their own country and glide over its dry and hardened snow. There is no greater delusion in the world than that which attributes to the Russian people a desire to overrun and occupy, in the spirit of the ancient Goths and Huns, any part of Western Europe. In discussing this subject with an intelligent native, at Moscow, he wound up an argument to prove that the Russian people would not exchange their country for any in the world with this remark: 'Should some new El Dorado be discovered, to which all the population of the earth could be invited to migrate, there would be fewer volunteers found to abandon their homes in Russia than in any other part of Europe.'" When people such as those described in the extracts we have given are told of the cold-blooded massacre of brother Christians in Bulgaria; when they are told that in the fairest region of Europe, once the patrimony of the Greek Church, millions of Christians, who are groaning under Turkish despotism, look to them for succour and pray for the success of their arms, it is easy to understand the transformation of a careless, superstitious villager into a practical devotee and a fearless crusader. We are compelled to believe that the Russian army crossed the frontier on the 24th of April, 1877, actuated by exactly the same feelings which influenced other European hordes eight hundred years previously, when a gallant Frenchman, named Peter the Hermit, called attention to Saracen atrocities and the desecrated graveyards of Jerusalem.

The Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievich, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of

the Army of the Danube, was born July 27th, 1831. He is the third son of the late Czar Nicholas I., and brother of the present Emperor of Russia. From his childhood his principal education has been of an almost purely military character, with the result as stated by a military critic of the late war, that the "Grand Duke whether planning a campaign, or ordering a single regiment to position, is the most practical soldier of all the soldier-members of the great imperial house." His serious, dignified bearing through all the reverses and successes of his campaign, gained the confidence and ultimately the affection of his soldiers. The war correspondent of a London paper has told us that whilst staying at a hotel in Bucharest, the Grand Duke dined at the *table-d'hôte*, moved about amongst strangers and soldiers with a complete absence of pretension, and was remarkable in no way beyond ordinary people, except in the reticence and seriousness of a man upon whom depends chiefly the fate of 300,000 of his fellows. His previous experience of warfare had not been great, prolonged and detailed though his education for it had been. In company with his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, and Prince Menschikoff, he had been under fire at Inkermann, though not actually engaged in the conflict; for their "coolness" upon this occasion both young princes were decorated by their father. The Grand Duke Nicholas had spent a few days in Sebastopol in 1855, when under the skill of Todleben that fortress seemed impregnable; he then became attached for two years to the army of the Caucasus, and, in the capacity of general staff officer, was present at several skirmishes. When he was nominated inspector-general of engineers and commander-in-chief of all the army, he appointed General Todleben his second in command. His army on the Danube, in May 1877, consisted of nine army corps, containing, on paper, 310,000 men, 55,806 horses and 972 guns, but as most of the regiments fell much short of their full strength, the numbers have been differently computed, and, including the 72,000 irregular Roumanian troops under command of Prince Charles, it has been doubted whether the whole actual force amounted to more than 200,000 at the passage of the Danube. Mr. Forbes, correspondent of the *Daily News*, says that there were not 170,000 Russians in Turkey at the end of June. The Turkish army, nominally composed of 247,000 men, was scattered in fortified towns over a frontier of 500 miles. Fully two months were spent in preparing for the passage of the Danube, a process rendered extremely difficult by natural causes, and rendered more difficult by Russian bureaucracy. As in all countries where class privileges are strongly marked, there prevails in Russia a powerful and idle faction which is ready to avail itself of every opportunity for exciting warlike propensities, and whose members, after a life of court intrigue or provincial lethargy, seek upon the battle-field an easy outlet for superfluous energy. Men of this exclusive caste and military temperament, without military capacity, naturally did their utmost to appropriate all leading positions of the executive. Tumult, dissatisfaction, incompetence, and delay, were necessary consequences, and it was not until the 21st of June that the Russian army succeeded in crossing the Danube. The crossing was effected at four points simultaneously, Galatz, Brahilov, Hirsova, and Sistova. Upon the entry of the Russian army into Bulgaria, the Czar addressed proclamations to the inhabitants in which he assured "the Christian people of the Balkan Peninsula in general, and the Bulgarians in particular, of his solicitude for the amelioration of their lot;" he added, "My army will secure to the Bulgarians the sacred rights of their nationality; all races and all denominations shall be equally treated, and order shall be enforced." To the Mussulmans he said: "Your existence and your property, the lives and honour of your families shall be sacred with us as those of the Christians, but regular and impartial justice will overtake those

criminals who have remained unpunished, despite the fact that their names are well known to the Government." He also intimated clearly in each of his addresses the brighter prospects of a new Bulgaria, under the protecting influence of the Northern Power with which Nature had allied her by ties of race and of religion. "As our troops advance into the interior of your country, the power of the Turk will be replaced by regular organisations, the native inhabitants will be summoned to take part therein, under supreme direction of specially appointed authorities." The Bulgarians received the Russian troops as brothers, and a series of successes, which followed upon the passage of the Danube, seemed to promise one triumphal procession to Constantinople. But the procession though ultimately triumphant, was seriously and frequently impeded.

The capture of Tirnova was the second notable event of the campaign. Tirnova, the capital of the ancient Bulgarian kingdom, is situated in the centre of the modern Danube Principality, and is built upon the Jantra river, which forms a branch of the Danube. It is forty miles from Sistova on the Danube, and thirty from the entrance to the Balkans. On July 7th General Gourko, commanding an advance guard of the Russian army, took possession of the town with a squadron of his guards and a force of about 200 Cossacks. A much stronger force of the enemy, occupying admirable strongholds in the mountains adjoining, retreated rapidly before the small body of Russian cavalry. Tirnova being an unfortified town was of no strategical importance except as a basis of operation for the crossing of the Balkans; it became the head-quarters of the Russian army, and Prince Tscherkassi was appointed as the head of the new civil administration of Bulgaria. The march of the Grand Duke Nicholas from Sistova to Tirnova has been celebrated in the fine description written by a war correspondent. On entering the town on the 12th July, "everywhere," writes the correspondent, "the people came out to meet us, offering bread and salt and the most friendly greetings, while the women and girls offered fruit and pelted us with flowers. Processions headed by priests came out singing to meet us, with pictures from the churches, standards, and banners; at intervals the priests chanted prayers in the old Slavonic tongue amidst the responses of an immense crowd." Great however as had been the success at Tirnova, the taking of Nicopolis, a fortified town upon the Danube, by General Krudener was a much more important military event. This town was carried by assault on July 16th, after severe fighting. Six thousand Turkish soldiers, with guns and munition of war, fell to the Russians, and the possession of Nicopolis afforded the command of a good portion of the Danube, which was thereby rendered capable of being kept open for communications. Mysterious movements of the Grand Duke attracted some attention at this period; he was missed by the army from time to time, and rumours floated of reverses experienced or impending. Whatever meaning the mysteries or rumours possessed, it was quite true that disasters were impending, and Plevna, with the Shipka Pass, blocked up the passage to the south. Plevna, a Bulgarian town about twenty miles south of the Danube, was held by Osman Pacha. Reinforcements which had arrived too late for Nicopolis were utilised at Plevna, and it became evident that the Turks were here determined upon making a stand. As Plevna was a place of considerable importance to the Russians, orders were given that it should be occupied. Accordingly a brigade of infantry from Nicopolis, under the command of General Schildner-Schuldner, was sent upon this service. The attempt was a complete failure, as the attackers were decoyed into a trap, and almost cut to pieces. A second battle of Plevna was fought on the 31st of July. The result of this disastrous conflict was that the Russians were completely defeated after a loss of 8,000 killed, and as many wounded. South of the Balkans,

also, the hitherto victorious army was beginning to experience reverse of fortune. Suleiman Pacha having defeated General Gourko's force, and driven the Russian troops back to the mountains, assailed the Russian fortified positions in the Schipka pass. Hereupon followed a series of conflicts unparalleled in the campaign. The Russian garrison consisted only of the Bulgarian legion, and a regiment of the 9th division, in all about 3,000 men, with 40 cannon. The attack commenced on August 21st. Reinforcements, slowly arriving in scattered and exhausted divisions, were unable to do more than delay defeat for about a day, when suddenly General Radetzky, arriving with his forces, saved the Bulgarian and Russian troops. On September 3rd, the Russians, under Prince Meretinsky and General Skobeloff, succeeded in capturing Loftcha. Important as was the capture of Loftcha, the interest is now concentrated upon Plevna. On the last day of August, Osman Pacha, with 25,000 men, had made a determined but unsuccessful attack upon the Russian centre; he lost 3,000 men, and was defeated and driven back by General Zotoff. At this famous siege was shown very fully the inefficiency of the Russian staff departments. The jealousy which prevailed amongst the Russian nobility of men who were distinguished for knowledge and capacity as distinct from social importance, prevented the services of the ablest engineers from being put in requisition, and it was not until the bungling efforts of a great number of incompetent men had been universally acknowledged that General Todleben was called upon. He proceeded at once to invest the place upon the most elaborate scientific principles. His genius at the investment of Plevna was not less remarkably displayed than upon a former occasion it had been so strikingly manifested at the defence of Sebastopol. For nearly five months Plevna had defied the Russian armies, and upon three occasions, July 20th and 31st, and September 11th, threw back, with terrible slaughter, the attacking forces of the enemy. Early in December, owing to the vigilance of Todleben, Plevna was reduced to starvation point, and upon every side cut off from all chance of obtaining provisions. Osman Pacha summoned a council of war, and in his usual laconic manner, stated his case, and described his position. It was determined to make one last desperate effort to break through the Russian lines in the only possible place, across the Vid. On the night of December 9th, he left Plevna with 32,000 men, 26,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. He succeeded in breaking through the two first lines of investment, but by means of spies and traitors, the Russians had been forewarned of the attempt, and the gallant chieftain was compelled to surrender. All the incidents connected with Osman's capitulation have been described by an eyewitness, in a series of brilliant articles which must ever remain masterpieces of journalistic literature. The Russian commander-in-chief, surrounded by his staff, rode up within rifle-shot of the Turkish army immediately that the truce had been demanded. A delay ensued whilst messengers from Plevna arrived to treat for terms; but the messengers were sent back by the Grand Duke, and instructed to inform their leaders that some one of the rank of Pacha must submit conditions of capitulation. Suddenly two horsemen rode out at full speed, and wheeling up in front of the Grand Duke, exclaimed: "Osman Pacha is wounded, but he is coming himself to treat with you." The Russian officers, who had closed up around their leader, were profoundly impressed with this intelligence, and exclaimed, "We must receive him with a most respectful salute!" After some little time a carriage drove slowly from Plevna containing two Turkish officers—the one with the shabby uniform and the majestic face was Osman Pacha. The Grand Duke rode forward to the carriage. The two generals looked at each other in silence for some seconds, and as he held out his hand the Grand Duke said, "I compliment you on your defence of Plevna, it is one of the most splendid military feats in history!" Osman

smiled very sadly, but rising slowly, and evidently suffering much pain from his wound, bowed slightly towards the Russians. The Russian officers all cried "Bravo! bravo!" and saluted him as he prepared to retire. "It is the face of a great military chieftain," said young Skobeloff; "I am glad to have seen him. Osman Ghazi he is, and Osman the Victorious he will remain in spite of his surrender."

The fall of Kars in Asiatic Turkey having almost synchronised with the surrender of Osman Pacha's army marked the end of the campaign. Terms of an armistice submitted by Turkey early in January, were answered January 14th, by a conciliatory reply received at Constantinople. After some weeks of suspense throughout Europe, and of panic and distraction at Constantinople, where serious disturbances had broken out whilst the Grand Duke and the plenipotentiaries of the Porte were negotiating peace at Kezanlik, preliminaries of peace were at length signed at Adrianople, January 31st, 1878. Terms of peace comprised:—Establishment of a principality of Bulgaria; payment of a war indemnity or a territorial compensation; independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, with an increase of territory for each principality; the introduction of reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina; an ulterior understanding between the Sultan and the Czar upon the question of the Straits; and, lastly, evacuation of the Danube fortresses by the Turks. Upon the signature of the armistice the Sultan and Czar exchanged telegrams expressing their mutual satisfaction at the termination of hostilities. The Czar, however, intimated clearly the position which he had adopted and which he intended to maintain:—"I desire peace as much as yourself, but it is necessary for me, as it is necessary for us, that it should be a solid and an enduring peace." Constantinople put on her holiday attire, and St. Petersburg returned to her solemn revelry. After much misunderstanding and many symptoms of smouldering discontent, the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was at length signed at San Stefano, upon Sunday, the 3rd of March, a fact which was announced to the Czar in a telegram from the Grand Duke Nicholas:—"I do myself the honour of congratulating your Majesty upon the conclusion of peace. God has vouchsafed to us the happiness of accomplishing the holy work begun by your Majesty, and on the anniversary of the enfranchisement of the serfs your Majesty has delivered the Christians from the Mussulman's yoke."

Parting, for the present, with the tumult and the slaughter, we take the liberty, in conclusion, of quoting from the description, given by an eyewitness, of San Stefano upon the occasion of the signature of peace. "Scarcely was it daylight, when, notwithstanding a storm, there was an unusual movement in the village. There was a general idea that peace was to be signed that day. The steamers from Constantinople came rolling along through the rough sea, overladen with excursionists attracted by the review which had been announced to take place in celebration of the anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne. Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, and Russians, crowded the little village, besieging the restaurants, swarming about the doors of houses whence were supposed to issue great personages who were to become famous in history, all impatiently awaiting the hour of two. The horses of the Grand Duke and his staff were gathered about the entrance to his quarters, and keen-eyed spectators, ready to interpret the slightest movement of the commander-in-chief, formed unbroken ranks around the group of horses. At last, about four o'clock, the Grand Duke mounted, and rode to the diplomatic chancery, where he asked at the door: 'Is it ready?' and then galloped towards the hill where the army was drawn up. Here we halted for a few moments, wondering what would happen next. Finally a carriage came whirling out of the village towards us; General Ignatieff was



in it, and when he approached he rose and said: 'I have the honour to congratulate your Highness on the signature of peace.' There was a long loud shout. Then the Grand Duke, followed by about a hundred officers, dashed forward to where the troops were formed, on rising ground close by the sea-coast just behind San Stefano lighthouse, and began riding along the lines. As he passed, the soldiers did not know that peace had been signed, as it was still unannounced; but soon the news spread, and the cheering grew louder and more enthusiastic. After riding between the lines, the Grand Duke halted on a little eminence, whence all the troops could be seen, and formally made the announcement of the peace—'I have the honour to inform the army, that, with the help of God, we have concluded a treaty of peace.' Then another shout burst forth from 20,000 throats, rising, swelling, and dying away. There was a general feeling of relief and satisfaction. There stood the men, whose courage, devotion, and unparalleled endurance will go down to history. And there gathered, scarcely more than a rifle-shot away, was the enemy they had found worthy of their steel, for on the crest of the neighbouring hill stood the Turks in groups, interested spectators of the scene. After the review, gathering his officers about him where the priest stood ready for the *Te Deum*, the Grand Duke spoke briefly and emphatically, saying: 'To an army which has accomplished what you have, my friends, nothing is impossible.' Then all dismounted, uncovered, and a solemn service was conducted, the soldiers all kneeling. A few ladies were present at the ceremony. Among others I noticed Madame Ignatieff, kneeling on a fur rug beside her carriage. The religious ceremony over, the Grand Duke took his stand, and the army began to file past with a swinging rapid stride, in forcible contrast to the weary pace with which they used to drag themselves slowly along at the end of that exhausting chase, scarcely able at times to put one foot before the other. The night was falling and darkness settled quickly over the scene. When we left the spot the Grand Duke was still sitting immovable on his horse, and the troops were still passing. As we rode down into the village we could hear the joyful shouts still ringing in the air, and the measured tramp, tramp, going off in the darkness. So ends the war of 1877—8!"

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by M. Jacotin, Paris.]







Photograph by the London Stereoscopic  
Company, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C. 4.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE

## THE MARQUIS OF LORNE

THE present General Campbell was born at Inveraray, Argyllshire, on the 10th of September 1769. His father, General Campbell, was the eighth Lord of Lorne, and was born at Stafford House, London, on the 10th of August 1721. He was a descendant of an ancient and illustrious pedigree. A few of the eight centuries of the Campbell family are accounted by marriage with the house of Lorne, and the family name of Campbell was first assumed by the designation of More, or Great More, which was given to the present Lord of Lorne, styled, in Gaelic, Mac Collum More. The title was assumed by him in 1711, in the year 1780, and was one of the names of the year of the battle of Culloden. He did not fight for the cause of Scotland. He was a member of the House of Commons, and was the Lord of Lorne at the Battle of Culloden, where he was killed. He was the first of a series of Generals, but the name of the family was not known until the marriage of the first Duke of Argyll to the daughter of the Earl of Argyll. The family name of the first Duke of Argyll was Campbell, the son of Colin, joined Robert Bruce, and after the battle of Bannockburn, through good report. The battle of Bannockburn having decided the independence of Scotland, Sir Nigel was one of the great barons to the Ayre Parliament, which met on the 26th of April, 1315, and fixed the succession to the Scottish crown. He married Lady Mary Bruce, a sister of the king. Following the fortunes of the family, we come to Sir Duncan Campbell, a Scotchman, who assumed the designation of Argyll, and was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament by James II. in 1431. He was the title of Lord Campbell, having some years before been appointed to the title of Earl of Argyll, and appointed to the King's Judiciary, and Lord of the county of Argyll. He was married to the daughter of the Duke of Albany, Duke of Scotland, and one of their sons was the father of the present Duke of Argyll. Lord Campbell married, secondly, a daughter of Robert III. He was one of the nobles for the redemption of James I. in 1424, his name being longer than that of any other of the nobles.

Sir Duncan Campbell was succeeded by his grandson, who was killed at the battle of Marston in 1471. After filling many important posts, the man was eventually created Earl of Argyll in 1501. His lordship married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Argyll, and from this union sprang the courtesy-title always borne by the eldest son of the family, viz., that of Lord Lorne. The second son of Argyll was the Duke of Argyll, and he was the Duke of Argyll at the battle of Flodden. The third son of Argyll was the Duke of Argyll, and he was the Duke of Argyll at the battle of Flodden. The fourth son of Argyll was the Duke of Argyll, and he was the Duke of Argyll at the battle of Flodden. The fifth son of Argyll was the Duke of Argyll, and he was the Duke of Argyll at the battle of Flodden. The sixth son of Argyll was the Duke of Argyll, and he was the Duke of Argyll at the battle of Flodden. 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## THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

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THE present Governor-General of Canada, Sir John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquis of Lorne, is the eldest son of the eighth Duke of Argyll, and was born at Stafford House, London, on the 6th of August, 1845. The Mac Callum Mores have an ancient and illustrious pedigree. No fewer than eight centuries ago, one Gillespiek Campbell acquired, by marriage with an heiress, the lordship of Lochow, in Argyllshire, and from him sprang Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, who, from his distinguished achievements in war, obtained the designation of More, or Great. From his day until the present the chief of the house has been styled, in Gaelic, Mac Callum More. Sir Colin was knighted by Alexander III., in the year 1280, and was one of the nominees, eleven years later, on the part of Robert Bruce, in the contest for the crown of Scotland. He was eventually slain in an encounter with his neighbour, the Lord of Lorn, at the String of Cowal, where an imposing obelisk is erected over his grave. A series of feuds resulted between the houses of Lochow and Lorn, which at length ended in the marriage of the first Earl of Argyll with the heiress of Lorn. Such settlements of warlike feuds are common in fiction but rare in actual life. Sir Niel Campbell, the successor of Colin, joined Robert Bruce, and clung to his cause through evil and through good report. The battle of Bannockburn having decided the independence of Scotland, Sir Niel was one of the great barons in the Ayr Parliament, which met on the 26th of April, 1315, and fixed the succession to the Scottish crown. He married Lady Mary Bruce, the sister of the king. Following the fortunes of the family, we come to Sir Duncan Campbell, of Lochow, who assumed the designation of Argyll, and was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament by James II. in 1445, by the title of Lord Campbell, having some years before been summoned to the Privy Council, and appointed the King's Justiciary, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Argyll. His lordship married the daughter of the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, and one of their sons became the ancestor of the present Earls of Breadalbane. Lord Campbell married, secondly, a granddaughter of Robert III. He was one of the hostages for the redemption of James I. in 1424, his annual revenue being larger than that of any other of the hostages.

Sir Duncan (Lord) Campbell was succeeded by his grandson, who was created Earl of Argyll in the year 1457. After filling many important posts, the Earl was eventually created Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. His lordship married the eldest daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord of Lorn. From this union arose the courtesy-title always borne by the eldest son of the chief of the race, viz., that of Lord Lorne. The second Earl of Argyll fell in the command of the vanguard at the battle of Flodden, fought on the 9th of September, 1513. The fourth Earl was the first person of importance in Scotland who embraced the Protestant religion, and he became (according to Burke) a strenuous advocate for the Reformation. The fifth Earl, Archibald, had a chequered and not undistinguished career. At the breaking out of

the civil wars in Scotland he espoused the cause of Queen Mary, and commanded her forces at the battle of Langside in 1568. He was subsequently constituted her Majesty's lieutenant in Scotland. He became an unsuccessful candidate for the Regency, and married, first, Lady Jane Stuart, natural daughter of James V., who was at supper with her sister, Queen Mary, when Rizzio was murdered. The eighth Earl, Archibald, who was advanced to the Marquisate of Argyll in 1641, resigned into the hands of Charles I. the Justiciaryship of all Scotland, which had been in his family for several ages, reserving only to himself and his heirs the jurisdiction of the Western Isles and of Argyll, and wherever else he had lands in Scotland, which arrangements were ratified by Act of Parliament in 1633. This nobleman had an extraordinary career. At one time he was commander-in-chief of the Covenanters, but after the beheading of Charles I., he had the honour of placing the crown upon the head of Charles II., at the king's coronation at Scone. Some years later, however, he assisted in the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell Protector, and signed an engagement to support his government. The monarchy being restored, the Marquis of Argyll was out of favour at Court; and after various vicissitudes he was tried for high treason, condemned to death, and beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh in 1661. The ninth earl was restored to the estates and honours of his family, as Earl of Argyll; but he, too, having been found guilty of high treason (for refusing to subscribe to the Test Act) was sentenced to death. He effected his escape in a romantic manner, but was re-taken four years later, in an abortive attempt to invade Scotland, and executed in the same manner as his father, in the year 1685. "The Last Sleep of Argyll" was one of the finest works executed by the late Mr. E. M. Ward, R.A. This represents the ninth Earl, who was treated with great inhumanity, and whose execution was hurried forward with indecent haste. When leaving the gaol, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian."

After the attainder had been removed from the family, the tenth earl of Argyll was created a duke, with other titles, in the year 1701. The second duke was created a British peer, but the honours became extinct. They were revived, however, in the person of the fifth duke, who, in 1766, was created a peer of England, during the lifetime of his father, as Baron Sundridge, of Coomb Bank, in Kent. By this title the Dukes of Argyll now sit in the House of Lords. The present holder of the honours and estates is Sir George Douglas Campbell, K.T., P.C., Marquis of Lorne and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount Lochow and Glenilla, Lord of Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiry, in the peerage of Scotland; Baron Sundridge, of Coomb Bank, county of Kent, and Lord Hamilton, in the peerage of England; Hereditary Master of the Queen's Household, and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland; Admiral of the Western Isles, Keeper of Dunoon Castle, and of Dunstaffnage and Carrick, one of her Majesty's State Counsellors for Scotland; Lord Lieutenant; and Hereditary Sheriff of County Argyll. He was elected Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews (1851). He was also for some time Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1861); was created LL.D. of Cambridge, 1862; and is a Trustee of the British Museum. His Grace married, in 1844, Lady Elizabeth Georgiana, eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland, by whom he has had issue five sons and seven daughters. The Duke, who succeeded his father in 1847, is one of the most distinguished and eloquent Liberal statesmen of the day. He was made Lord Privy Seal in 1853, appointed Postmaster-General in 1855, but retired in 1858. He afterwards became Lord Privy Seal in June, 1859, and retired in 1860. On the formation of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1868, he accepted the office of Secretary of State for India, and retired in 1874.

His Grace is the author of "The Reign of Law," "Primeval Man," and other works, which have enjoyed considerable popularity.

The Marquis of Lorne has thus a distinguished and honourable ancestry; in fact, few noble families in this country can boast so illustrious a line. Coming now to the noble Marquis himself, we find that he was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge; both his natural talents and his acquirements being far above the average. For some time he commanded a company in the London Scottish Rifle Volunteers. In December, 1868, he was appointed private secretary to his father at the India Office. Early in the same year he was elected member for the county of Argyll. The following year, during the debate on the second reading of the Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill, the Marquis, in addressing the House, said he was not in favour of the total abolition of the law of hypothec, but he did think it necessary that some modification should be made in the law, and considered it very desirable that the law of distress, as it existed in England, should be applied to Scotland. He therefore voted for the second reading of the Bill. In the same session, speaking upon the Parochial Schools (Scotland) Bill, he described its importance as consisting in the fact that it was an endowment Bill for the education of Scotland. If it were not an endowment Bill for that purpose, it was nothing. Regarding the measure, as he did, as one of national importance, he hoped the Government would press it forward. His lordship has always taken a special interest in questions affecting Scotland; and in 1878, shortly before his appointment to the distinguished position he now holds, he addressed the House on several occasions. On the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Bill, he carried an amendment which was intended to include all burghs not exceeding 5,000 inhabitants in the district assessments. It was unfair, he said, when such small townships used the roads in their neighbourhoods, and cut them up by coach and cart traffic, that they should not pay something towards their maintenance. This Act, though not of imperial concern, was of vital interest to his lordship's constituents. As regards his political views, the Marquis adheres to the traditional Liberal tenets of his family. He voted for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and is understood to be in favour of the equalisation of the borough and county franchise.

It is, however, not in the political but in the literary world where his lordship has chiefly achieved his laurels. In the year 1867—that is, when he was but twenty-two years of age—he published his first work, entitled "A Trip to the Tropics and Home through America." It contains agreeable sketches of Jamaica, Cuba, St. Domingo, and some portions of the United States. The noble author, who possesses a keenly observant eye, stated in his preface that these notes contained merely superficial views of the men, manners, and things that came under his notice; but the reader may turn to them even now, and after so many travellers have been over the same ground, with considerable interest. This work was succeeded by "Guido and Lita, a Tale of the Riviera," a poem, published in 1875. We may freely confess of this poem, that while not exhibiting the highest characteristics of genius, it would have challenged some attention had the writer been anonymous. The narrative is fixed at the time when the Saracens were disturbing the Riviera. Guido, who is the son of an Italian nobleman, is enamoured of Lita, the daughter of a fisherman. The latter, however, declines to bind herself to him until a year has passed. The heroine and her friends are subsequently captured by a Saracen band. Lita, who is taken by the leader as his special prize, gives him a drugged goblet, and escapes. After many vicissitudes, Guido and Lita are married. Several lyrics appear in the course of the poem, but the body of the work is in the



heroic measure. As a fair specimen of the author's powers we quote the following description of sunrise:—

“Though still the air, and chill—behold, behold,  
The hues of saffron deepening into gold,  
Save where a sapphire band on ocean's bed  
Along the far horizon lies outspread,  
The heaving surface takes the tints on high,  
And wakes its pallor to a kindred dye;  
A moment more, and from the dusky hill,  
The vapours fall, the lower glens to fill;  
Then fade from thence, in many a changing shape,  
To clasp the feet of every jutting cape,  
Till the tall cliffs' descent into the sea  
Is merged in mist, that makes them seem to be  
Raised like the prows of galleys, that of yore  
Stretched their carved beaks above the surges' roar.  
Another instant, and each doubtful shade  
Melts and then vanishes, as though afraid  
Of the great blaze, unbearable, the sun  
Sends o'er the world, proclaiming day begun.”

It will be admitted, we think, that there is a sensibility here to the impressions of outward nature that may fairly and legitimately be described as poetic. In 1877 the Marquis of Lorne published a third volume, entitled “The Book of Psalms, literally rendered in verse.” This work was dedicated to the Scottish churches, and the reason for its publication is stated as follows: “Many of the words of the Authorised Version (written in 1650 by Rous), which might formerly have been considered as rhyming together, cannot, with modern pronunciation, be now held to do so; and, believing that the want of true rhyme is often not agreeable, it seems probable that there is room for a new version, which is therefore here attempted. The use of the actual words of the Bible is alone satisfactory to ears accustomed to Rous's Psalms, and I have sought in the case of Psalms translated into common metre, to adhere as closely as possible to the language of the original, while making each alternate line rhyme.” It was a somewhat formidable undertaking to render in verse the most beautiful and poetic book in the Bible, but the old Scotch version was certainly capable of improvement. Probably all the ills which befell David would have been counted by the Jewish monarch as nothing compared with the metrical outrages to which the sweet singer of Israel has been subjected in every generation. But, as the Psalms must be sung, there is great justification for putting them into a form for singing. Many of the literary journals spoke in terms of high praise of Lord Lorne's version, the *Athenæum* pronouncing it, on the whole, to be the best rhymed Psalter we have. “If the noble author,” observed one reviewer, “hoped to compose a metrical version of the Psalms which should supersede that of Rous in the use of the Scottish churches, the very first thing required of him was that it should be as like Rous's as possible, so endeared has the latter become to the people of Scotland; and the highest praise that we can give to the present Book of Psalms is that it is worthy to supersede Rous's version. Its language, while always simple, is never homely, but consistently refined and elevated throughout. Its rhymes are nearly always true, and the steady harmony of the metre never becomes rugged and absolutely unmusical, and the author has avoided those daring feats of literal translation so frequent in Rous, which in these days of less robust faith are apt to arouse an incongruous sense of the grotesque.”

On the 21st of March, 1871, the Marquis of Lorne was married to the Princess Louise, fourth daughter of Her Majesty the Queen. In the House of Commons, in the previous February, Mr. Gladstone proposed the usual grant. In doing so, the Premier said: "The character of the royal bride is known to some of us by personal intercourse, to others by the voice which rumour carries forth; and I do not think that rumour has ever carried forth, in any case recorded in our modern history, impressions more satisfactory or more delightful than those which have been conveyed to the popular mind with respect to the Princess Louise." Mr. Gladstone was but interpreting the general sentiment in this observation, for to great mental gifts and accomplishments, the Princess united a loving, a generous, and a religious nature. Dealing with another aspect of the marriage, the Premier remarked: "In the resolution which the Queen has taken that the absence of royal rank shall not of itself, and in every case, form an insuperable bar to a suit for the hand of one of her daughters, she is not acting without the advice of responsible Ministers. But she has shown, in coming to such a resolution, another manifestation of that principle which has governed her life—the principle which has taught her, amid the pomp and splendour, and amid the duties and cares of royalty, never to forget the womanly and motherly character. She has justly impressed on the mind of the country a belief that there is no mother throughout the wide expanse of her dominions to whom the personal happiness of her children is more intensely dear." Mr. Disraeli subsequently spoke in similar terms, and, referring to the Marquis of Lorne, said that without using any but the words of truth, he had gained the sympathies of the House of Commons by his intelligence and by his breeding.

The marriage was solemnised with great splendour at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The contemporary records describing the scene outside the Castle state that when the Queen and the bride appeared in sight, nine hundred Eton boys, who were stationed on Castle Hill, set up a vigorous shout. This was taken up along the line, and re-echoed from the bottom of the street before the carriage had turned into Castle-yard. The Princess, like Her Majesty, bowed repeatedly, the former, through the window, appearing as if looking out from a bower of orange-blossoms. They disappeared within the Chapel, as the others had done, leaving wet eyes, agitated hearts, and whisperings of "God bless her!" amongst the thousands of spectators. The scene inside the Chapel was one of great magnificence. The ceremony itself was thus described: "Arrived at the altar, the bride's procession became incorporated with those which had preceded it, and the position of the distinguished personages occupying the seats of state upon the *haut-pas* before the altar became more defined. These seats were arranged in semicircular form, and within this semicircle, and closer to the altar-rails, stood the bride and bridegroom; the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, being a few paces behind Princess Louise; Lord Percy and Lord Ronald Gower occupying the same relative position to the Marquis of Lorne. While the 'Wedding March' was still being played, Lord Sydney distributed to the party on the dais books of the marriage service richly bound in crimson velvet. Then the service began, the two Psalms being admirably chanted by the choir to a double chant by Dr. Elvey. During the ceremony the sun shone brightly through the stained windows. The service was read by the Bishop of London in not too distinct a voice. As for the question, 'Wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?' and the interesting questions and responses which follow, not one word said by either bride or bridegroom could be heard at the end of the choir; and, as the silence at the time was almost painful, it may be easily surmised that both the Princess and the Marquis must have spoken in the

faint whispers common to those who thus plight their troth. To the Bishop's question, 'Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?' the Queen replied by a gesture, and then the Bishop joined their hands. The declarative sentence which each repeats, 'I, Princess Louise, take thee John Douglas Sutherland, Marquis of Lorne,' was as inaudible as all that had gone before. When the ring was put on, the bells pealed, the guns fired, and gave notice to the world without that the ceremony had been happily celebrated. The Bishop of Winchester read the short address to the newly-married couple, setting forth the duties of man and wife, and his clear, distinct voice was heard with fine effect in every part of the choir. Before the blessing a chorus by Beethoven was sung by the choir. Then, the ceremony being ended, the Queen gave her daughter a loving kiss, and the bridegroom, bending low, kissed Her Majesty's hand. The organ again pealed forth a march by Handel, and then the bride took her husband's arm, and walked, with a bright and happy face, out of the church, the processions otherwise following in the same order in which they had entered. The Duke and Duchess of Argyll remained for some moments on the *haut-pas* receiving the congratulations of their friends." In proceeding to Claremont, the newly-married couple halted at Esher to receive a presentation from the inhabitants. The Princess acknowledged the gift, saying, in a very distinct voice, "I thank you very much, on Lord Lorne's part and my own, for your very kind and loyal expressions." When the cheering which followed this acknowledgment had subsided, her Royal Highness added: "I receive with pleasure the kind welcome of the inhabitants of Esher, who are the first to testify their good wishes to me since my marriage. I beg to express, on Lord Lorne's part and my own, our great sense of your kindness, and to thank you very sincerely for extending to me the same good feeling which for many years you have shown to members of my family at Claremont." Whenever her Royal Highness has since appeared in public she has been received with peculiar and affectionate regard.

In July, 1878, Lord Dufferin having resigned the position of Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne was appointed to the vacant post. The appointment was most favourably received both by the English and the Canadian press. On the 14th of November, the Marquis and Marchioness of Lorne were presented with addresses by the Liverpool Corporation and Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. In reply, his lordship expressed the satisfaction with which he had observed the enthusiastic feelings manifested towards Canada among all classes of the community in England and Scotland, whenever he had of late had an opportunity of hearing any expression of the public mind. The Marquis and her Royal Highness next drove to the landing-stage, and embarked on board the *Sarmatian*, which was to convey them to Canada. The Duke of Connaught and Prince Leopold, having taken a farewell of their royal sister and her husband, then returned to London.

On the 23rd of November, the Marquis of Lorne and his Royal consort arrived off Halifax harbour, after a stormy passage, but the *Sarmatian* was unable to effect a landing. Next day the Princess and the Marquis landed in a boat belonging to the *Black Prince*, and attended church, afterwards returning to the *Black Prince* to lunch with the Duke of Edinburgh. The official reception took place two days later. The forts and ships saluted, state the daily journals; the fleet manned yards, and cheered; every ship in the harbour was dressed with flags, and every point of land that offered a foothold whence the scene might be surveyed, was thronged with people. Canadians crowded in from all parts.

Amongst them came the chief of the Miamaes, with a dozen of his tribe, craving permission to walk in the procession behind the daughter of the Queen of England. The Marquis and the Princess disembarked in the Duke of Edinburgh's barge, the Admiral leading the way, and a flotilla of boats following. The Marquis was received at the wharf by General Macdougall and his staff, Sir John Macdonald, and the other Ministers. Through triumphal arches, and through the living lane of the enthusiastic population, the open carriages conveying the party passed to the Legislative Chamber, where, General Macdougall resigning the interim Governorship, the Marquis was sworn in amid loud cheering, drowned by a salvo of artillery from the citadel. The Duke of Edinburgh was present in the uniform of a captain in the navy; the Marquis of Lorne wore the Windsor uniform. The Princess, flushed with the excitement of the magnificent reception, looked exceedingly well as she stepped ashore, but was wearied before the ceremony was concluded. Her Royal Highness held a drawing-room in the evening, and it was largely attended. The city was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the occasion.

The exalted office of Governor-General of Canada is no sinecure; but, in addition to its onerous duties, it calls for the greatest circumspection and ability in its holder. One of the English daily journals observed at the time of Lord Lorne's appointment: "With the arrival of the new Governor-General of Canada and his wife at Montreal the full duties of his responsible post may be said to fall upon him. The enthusiasm with which Lord Lorne and the Princess Louise have been received by the people of what has some title to be considered our most loyal colony shows how little difficulty there ought to be in maintaining with the Canadians those satisfactory relations to which Lord Dufferin referred so eloquently in his speech at Belfast. Yet, in succeeding to a man of Lord Dufferin's tact and capacity, the Marquis of Lorne challenges comparison with the ablest and most successful of modern Governors; and it is not too much to say that the more closely he follows his predecessor in dealing with party differences, the more likely is he to gain the respect and affection of the whole colony. Of the effect produced on the Canadians by the appearance of a member of the royal family as the leader of colonial society it is unnecessary to speak. We may be sure that some judgment and knowledge of the world, which is so essential even in our aristocratic community, will not be found wanting in dealing with the somewhat different elements of Canadian society. A great opportunity is offered both to the Governor-General and the Princess of helping to knit yet closer the connection between the Canadian Dominion and the mother-country. There is happily every ground to believe that they will take advantage of it." In the month of August, 1879, the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise made a public progress through the province of New Brunswick. On the borders of the province they were met by the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of the local government. His Excellency and the Princess received their first address of welcome from the Acadians of New Brunswick. The Acadians, who were the pioneers of the country, are now loyal subjects of the Queen; but last century they were deported from Acadia under circumstances of great hardship, owing to the fact that they refused allegiance to the British Crown. Lord Lorne, in replying to the address, observed that the memory of French Acadian gallantry had been most perfectly preserved by Longfellow's "Evangeline;" and his lordship added: "The rights and privileges which were so well sustained by arms on the part of Canadians of Gallic blood are preserved to them intact and inviolate, not only by the letter of treaties, but also by the spirit of British liberty, and the consequent respect and sympathy shown to loyal fellow-citizens, the sons of ancient rivals." In answer to another address, received at Sussex, his Excellency, speaking in the name of the

Princess, said: "She will always associate herself gladly in anything tending to the welfare of the people of this Dominion. In so doing she will fulfil the wish of her father, the Prince Consort, whose desire it was that his children should identify themselves with the interests of our colonial empire." On arriving at the city of St. John, the Governor-General and the Princess were presented with an address, which recalled the great sacrifices for loyalty made by the patriotic citizens nearly a century ago. His lordship, in his reply, remarked upon this point: "The words in which you recall the trials through which many of your ancestors passed in this country—now the happy home of their descendants—remind me how strong to-day among you is the feeling of the duty of patriotism—a duty, the fulfilment of which, I rejoice to think, is accompanied by no burden, but brings with it the enjoyment of much political advantage." Other cities were embraced in the Governor-General's tour, and a progress was also arranged through the province of Ontario.

The Marquis of Lorne has fulfilled his numerous duties with great tact, discrimination, and ability; while the Princess has won golden opinions from all who have had the honour of being brought into relations with her. The wisdom of Lord Lorne's appointment has been abundantly justified; and we cannot doubt but that it will have the much-desired effect of bringing Canada into an even still closer harmony with Great Britain. All the addresses of the Governor-General to the Canadians have been marked by a conciliatory spirit, and have invariably been received with satisfaction and enthusiasm.

*[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.]*











AUG 30 1983

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